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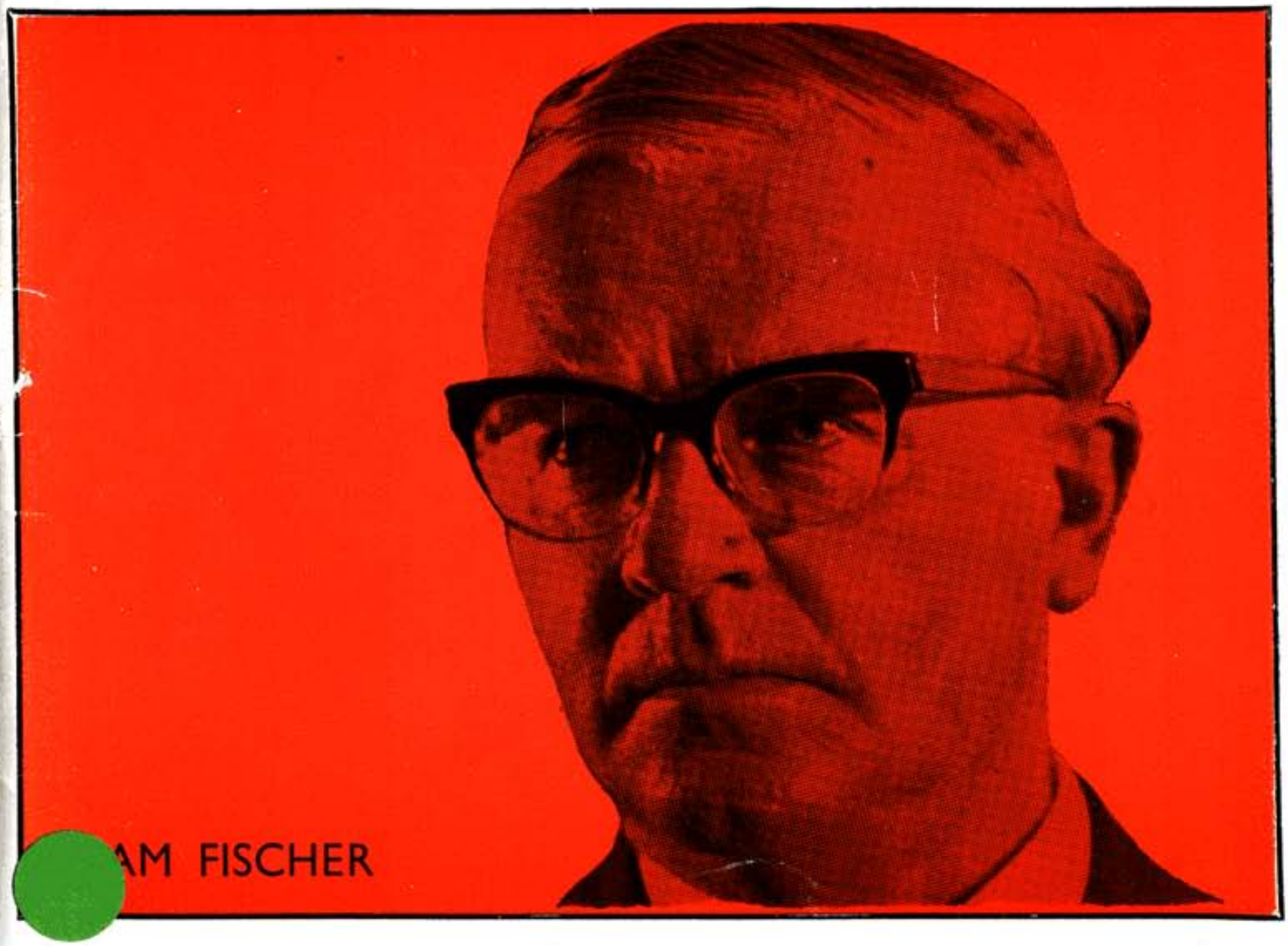
the African Communist

NUMBER 25 · SECOND QUARTER 1966

DENNIS OGDEN & CHRISTINE JOHNSON ON GHANA · CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT ON NEGRO OPPRESSION IN USA · HENRI ALLEG ON ALGERIA



AM FISCHER

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Ellis Bowles, 52 Palmerston Road, London, S.W.14, England

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No 25 Second Quarter 1966

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DENNIS OGDEN, *right up to the time of the coup, was on the Editorial Staff of* **The Spark,** *Accra socialist weekly. The leaders of the military coup arrested* **Spark's** *editor, Kofi Batsa, and ordered Ogden to produce the paper supporting the new regime. When he refused he was summarily dismissed and expelled from Ghana. His article brings news of a new rallying of genuine socialist forces.*

LET'S FREE GHANA AND FREE AFRICA
Christine Johnson

CHRISTINE JOHNSON *is National President of the African-American Heritage Association. Herself of African descent she has made frequent visits to Ghana since liberation in 1957. Her article is a warm vindication of progress under the rule of President Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party. Supported by facts and figures.*

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT *is one of the best known spokesmen of the Communist Party, USA, and fighter in the liberation struggle of the American Negro people. In this absorbing study he relates this liberation struggle to the fight against America's imperialist policy of world policeman.*

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Siginqi kaNelani

SIGINQI KANELANI *is a South African studying in the United States. In this article he analyses the 'colonial' character of the status of African-descended people in the U.S., and the various classes in the Negro community. He also describes the policies of various Left groups to the Negro struggle, including that of the Communist Party. The CP, USA, is at present discussing a new programme, and we hope to describe this in our next issue.*

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Editorial Notes:

BRAM FISCHER—and the S.A. ELECTIONS

ON THE EVE of the South African general election, Abram Fischer stood on trial for his life before the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

Bram Fischer, the great advocate who had so eloquently and skilfully pleaded in the defence of Lutuli, Mandela and so many other eminent political leaders accused in the courts, said little about the legal details of his own case, and nothing to excuse himself. As for the laws, they were enacted 'by a non-representative body', to 'silence the large majority of the people from having any say in the government'. 'My conscience does not allow me to condone these laws.' 'If I were to ask for forgiveness I would be betraying my cause. I believe that I was right.'

Instead he delivered a searing indictment of the racist tyranny of Verwoerd and Vorster, he explained 'the glaring injustices of South Africa'. He proudly defended the role and policy of the Communist Party, whose members were 'prepared to sacrifice most and give of their best in the struggle against poverty, injustice and discrimination.' He told of the prolonged and patient efforts of the non-white peoples

and their leaders to achieve their demands by peaceful negotiation, how time and again these efforts had met with still further repression, bullets, mass arrests and tortures.

The people of South Africa—and that does not mean only the one-fifth of the adults who, being fair-skinned, were qualified to vote and stand for election to parliament—could not but draw the contrast between the statesman who stood in the dock as a leader of a great, people's Party, the Communist Party; and the petty politicians of the Nationalist and the United Parties who stood on the platforms asking for the support of the voters.

During the course of their electioneering campaigns the spokesmen of these racist Parties said nothing about the great major issues facing the country: the famine in the countryside in which millions of peasants face stark starvation; the arbitrary despotism of Nazi Vorster where men and women can be arrested secretly, detained indefinitely in solitary confinement, tortured and broken, without charge or trial; the regular military-style raids on working people in African townships by armed police storm-troopers.

The United Party did not challenge the Verwoerd government on any of these major issues. Instead they told the voters that they would be able to maintain white domination even more efficiently than Verwoerd. The government did not excuse its tyranny. Instead its spokesmen actually boasted of the number of political prisoners and detainees.

The white voters dominated by racial intolerance and fear—'the same fear and intolerance', Fischer had pointed out, 'which drove Hitler to exterminate six million Jews'—returned the Verwoerd government with a bigger majority than ever before.

The South African election—like all elections in this country, confined to a privileged minority, was a sorry spectacle; a mockery of democracy. It will soon be forgotten.

But South Africa and the world will never forget the man who stood up alone in the midst of that uproar of unbridled racialism and spoke in simple words of sanity, humanity, courage and truth.

We know that there are millions of friends of South African freedom all over the world. We call on them all to raise their voices and act now: for the freedom of Bram Fischer, for the release of all now imprisoned and restricted for opposing apartheid.

THE JUDGES JUDGED

THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED by South Africa's political police have become so gross and obvious that even the eminently respectable

South African Law Journal has lent its columns to an exposure of the latest techniques of torture which has, in many cases, led to suicide and insanity.

In the February issue of the journal, Professor A. S. Mathews, Professor of Law at the University of Natal, and Professor R. C. Albino, Professor of Psychology at the same university, are joint authors of a closely reasoned and extremely well documented article under the heading '*The Permanence of the Temporary*'.

They give the lie, in no uncertain terms, to the claim that the power which the S.A. State has taken unto itself to detain and force political opponents by methods of torture to betray themselves or their friends, is of a temporary nature. They make out an unanswerable case to prove that the legislation of the '90-day' and '180-day' character has become a permanent symptom of a racially sick society—a society which has come to accept barbaric practices as a permanent part of everyday life.

Referring to historical precedent the authors say that there is little doubt that solitary confinement for a prolonged period is a barbarous punishment. At the English Pentonville Prison which practised solitary confinement for a short time the rate of insanity amongst the prisoners was found to be twenty times higher than in other prisons. In America where this system was introduced into one prison in 1819, the governor ordered the abandonment of the solitary system when many of those subjected to it became insane after a short period. Most of the remaining prisoners were released on pardon. The enormity of this form of punishment is perhaps best expressed by Charles Dickens when he observed its effects in America.

> I hold this slow and daily tampering with the mysteries of the brain to be immeasurably worse than any torture of the body: and because its ghastly signs and tokens are not so palpable to the eye and sense of touch as scars upon the flesh: because its wounds are not upon the surface and it extorts few cries that human ears can hear, therefore I the more denounce it, as a secret punishment which slumbering humanity is not roused up to stay.

And this, let us remind ourselves, is practised in South Africa not against convicted criminals but against anyone whom the police choose to detain.

To those who still harbour the illusion that the S.A. courts stand above the process, the article will provide a rude awakening. Here is a demonstration, once again that inevitably the laws of society assert themselves, and the courts are no exception to the rule that all institutions come to reflect the needs of the ruling class. It is true that for a time, the traditions of the law (which took root in a period when

the issues were not so sharp in S.A.) occasionally operated in some individual cases, as a minor obstacle to autocratic excesses. When one looks at the moral corruption which now pervades every level of the judiciary it is almost impossible to believe that only ten years ago a Supreme Court judge granted a removal order against the police who were attempting to invade a political meeting and told the head of the security police 'This is not a police state—yet'.

The attempts in the past year by some of those who were made victims of the 90- and 180-day torture sessions, to seek the aid of the courts has in most cases come to nought. Thus the highest court of the land, the Appellate Division, ruled in *Sachs* vs. *Rousseau* that not only did the law permit the detention of suspects and witnesses in solitary confinement but such a detainee could be deprived of reading material and writing material or any other requirements. The authors' comment is restrained, but scathing.

> We believe that the unanimous judgment of the Appellate Division to the effect that a detainee has no right to such materials does not reflect well upon that court. In the light of the experienced effects of such confinement the court would have been justified in concluding that it may be an inhuman and uncivilized form of punishment and quite irreconcilable with any considerations of humanity.

And what was the Court's answer in Sach's case?

> I have come to the conclusion that it was not the intention of parliament that detainees should as a matter of right be permitted to relieve the tedium of their detention with reading or writing materials.

Here was a case, say the authors, where the courts could quite legally have ruled in favour of the detainee (because the Statute was silent on the point in issue), but instead aligned itself with authority for political reasons.

Equally penetrating is the analysis contained in the article of the reasoning behind the case of *Schermbrucker* vs. *Klindt*, N.O. In this case Mrs. Schermbrucker tried to obtain a court order to prevent the police from continuing the torture of her husband—then an unconvicted political detainee. The court refused to come to her assistance and drew an adverse inference against Schermbrucker because the document which he managed to smuggle out to his wife asking her to send news of his treatment overseas immediately 'is certainly open to the very strong suspicion that this detainee was intent on getting publicity overseas'.

The two professors criticize the judge for making the false assumption that a person who has been in solitary confinement, and subjected to

long periods of interrogation whilst standing, is capable of exercizing a natural and normal state of mind. But even more pungently they go on to question the judge's false assumption that there was something ominous in Schermbrucker's failure to demonstrate his faith in the courts by not specifically asking his wife to take legal action.

> About this assumption we feel in duty bound to make some hard and unpopular observations

and after pointing out that some South Africans had lost faith in our courts, they say

> the line of cases already discussed in this article does not represent a picture of judges fired by ideas of individual liberty or personal sanctity.

In the end Schermbrucker was not allowed even to come to court to substantiate his allegations of unimaginable torture.

In such circumstances it is impossible to question the authors' conclusion that the courts in South Africa have not only become instruments for oppressive legislation (by virtue of the law) but have increasingly

> not shown themselves to be the reluctant or even faintly troubled instruments of the enforcement of such legislation.

This moral sickness pervades even those spheres in which political issues are not dominant. For example

> In *Raboroko* vs. *Superintendent of Sasolburg Village Board of Management*, when the court correctly declared that aged parents, one of whom was blind, had no legal right to live with their son in a location, should it not have added words of disapproval or even a request for official alleviation or an expression of concern? This is but one example of inexplicable silence.

And what is the rationalization for this embrace, even by the courts, of racial hysteria and barbaric practices. It is the old cry of 'Law and Order!' Here, too, the authors see through the cliches of the white supremacists:

> It is true that if a state neglects order there can be no justice, but it is equally true that if a state denies justice it undermines the foundations of order. *It is our firm conviction that the latent disorder in South Africa has its roots in a denial of elementary rights and essential human needs. . . . The permanent emergency is necessary because of this denial and its function is to control the reaction to it.*

In the South Africa of today words like the above are acts of heroism. They are accompanied by an appeal to academics not to abandon their traditional role of expressing their views in accordance with their true

beliefs and without fear. We hope they find an echo amongst an increasing number of civilized whites, for not only the judges but all who stood silent in the face of such barbarism will bear the guilt of history.

VIETNAM AND US

A GREAT BREAK-THROUGH of the Asian, African and other colonial peoples was marked by the Geneva meetings and agreements of July 1954. Following the famous victory of Dien Bien Phu, in which the French imperialists and their Yankee backers were routed by the Vietnam People's Army, the imperialists were compelled to sit down at an international conference table and negotiate the terms of their withdrawal. These talks were rather different from many negotiations before and since in which representatives of colonized peoples were brought (often from prisons) to Paris or London to bargain about how soon, and to what extent, their countries would be granted independence. They were held in a neutral capital. And they were attended not only by French and Vietnamese representatives, but also the other major world powers—Britain, the Soviet Union, People's China and (extremely reluctantly) the United States.

The Agreements laid down excellent principles for the independence and sovereignty of Indo-China—the area formerly under French rule, compromising Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Vietnam was to be peacefully united by free general elections throughout the country within two years—that is by 1956. The seventeenth parallel of latitude, which bisects the country, was regarded merely as a temporary military demarcation line to which troops of each side were to be withdrawn, pending the re-establishment of peaceful democratic conditions. Neither area was to enter military alliances or accept armaments or soldiers from outside; nor was any other country to send in arms or troops.

The Americans were furious. They had given the French billions of dollars to carry on their colonial war and wanted them to continue fighting. Dulles didn't even want to attend the Geneva Conference and did his best to wreck it. He failed. President Eisenhower said: 'The United States has not itself been a party to, or bound by, the decisions taken by the Conference.' All the same, international opinion was so strong that the U.S. government delegate at Geneva, Bedell Smith, had to promise 'The United States will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb the Agreements'. It was a lying and hypocritical promise.

For more than ten years the United States and its various puppets in South Vietnam, beginning with the hated Ngo Dinh Diem and ending

with Hitler-admirer General Ky, have been doing everything they possibly can to wreck the Geneva Agreements by the most terrible and barbarous violence within the command of the world's leading industrial power short only of nuclear weapons. They have poured billions of dollars worth of armaments and a quarter of a million troops into South Vietnam. They have used explosive and napalm bombs, gas and chemical warfare in an attempt to wipe out the population of whole villages and regions in the countryside (four-fifths of which is ruled by the South Vietnam Liberation Front) and destroy their food crops. They have put pressure on the governments of client states like Australia and New Zealand and puppets like South Korea to send in troops as well and internationalize the conflict.

They have started an undeclared war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), by means of the coward's weapon of bombing raids against the territory and people of that independent country, including bombing of the civilian population of the heavily-populated capital city of Hanoi. The cost of this ghastly adventure to the United States is incalculable. It cannot be measured only in terms of the countless billions of dollars paid by the American taxpayers or the lives of American boys sacrificed in a useless and wicked war against poor people about whom they know nothing and who never did them any harm. It must also be measured in terms of the all but universal hatred and contempt which Lyndon Johnson and his millionaire backers have brought upon a country which once won its freedom in a War of Independence and proudly proclaimed that all men are created equal. Even among the imperialist countries there are few to support and none to applaud America's crimes in Vietnam. In the United States itself, opposition to the Vietnam war is assuming the proportions of a mass crusade.

Despite all this, there is nothing to show that the Americans have had, or enjoy any prospect of, greater success in Vietnam than their ill-starred French predecessors. The bombings of North Vietnam have served, if anything, only to unite the people more firmly than ever behind their socialist government headed by the beloved and venerable Ho Chi Minh. In the South, even in the few areas still occupied by the American invaders and their Vietnamese quislings, everything is in turmoil. Every day there is a fresh demonstration by the brave and patriotic workers, youth, Buddhist leaders and others against the hated Ky dictatorship—and more and more openly against its Yankee masters. To the eyes of any sane observer—a term which seems to exclude President Johnson and his immediate advisers—American policy in Vietnam seems to be on the verge of a disastrous and total collapse.

Truly these Vietnamese are wonderful people. Theirs is a small country, with not a very numerous population. A century of foreign, colonialist domination has held back industrial and educational progress, so that most of the people are poor and often illiterate peasants. Yet these poor peasants have taught a lesson to the whole world; they have humbled mighty imperial powers who arrogantly believed themselves masters of the world; they have shown that poor and lowly people, who unite and fight for the great cause of freedom are unconquerable.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu was not a victory for Vietnam alone. It showed the imperialists that they could not continue to rule Asia and Africa as before, in the old way. It was not the same old world; the colonial peoples were resisting foreign rule more vigorously and militantly; they had found powerful new allies in the anti-imperialist countries of the socialist camp. After their setback at Geneva, the imperialist countries made haste to carry out a number of strategic retreats in Africa and Asia, ceding formal independence now at the price of retaining a number of economic and strategic strongpoints, rather than to be ignominiously thrown out later after a series of military defeats which would be as damaging to their economy as to their prestige, and from which they could hope to retain little or nothing in the way of influence.

To those Africans who may ask: what has this faraway country of Vietnam got to do with us? We answer—these same Vietnamese peasants, ill-clad and hungry, bought with their lives the independence which so many of our African countries enjoy today. We owe them a debt that can never be repaid.

Of course, we should add, we have helped them too. The Algerian fighters in the desert, the Kenyans in the forests, all our people struggling by every means, armed or otherwise, for independence, helped to pin down the forces of international imperialism and thus helped our brothers in Vietnam. We cannot, and we do not need, to draw up a balance sheet of such matters like a petty shopkeeper drawing up his books. It is enough to say that the struggle against imperialism and colonialism is world-wide, covering continents and oceans, just as imperialism itself is international, and whoever strikes a blow at the enemy anywhere is thereby helping his brothers and comrades-in-arms everywhere.

But one thing is clear. The Vietnamese are our people. They are holding the front-line trenches against the main present military drive of the imperialist world-wide counter-revolution. We must do everything we can to help and support them—and the best way to do this is to redouble our own efforts to struggle against imperialism and

colonialism, and against the miserable traitors who are prepared to sell African freedom and independence for their own personal enrichment.

TREASON IN GHANA

THE TRAITOR GENERALS who took advantage of the absence of President Nkrumah and his entourage to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch have struck a serious blow not only at Ghana's freedom and independence, but also at the far wider causes of African unity and emancipation and at world peace. Not enough attention has been paid to the deeply significant purposes of the mission on which the President was engaged at that time. First to Cairo to discuss new and practical measures against the anti-African regime of Smith and his gang in Salisbury; then he was en route to Hanoi in an attempt at fresh initiatives to end the American government's orgy of aggression and slaughter.

When Ghana gained its independence, its government proclaimed that that independence only had meaning and significance insofar as it was a part of the process of the emancipation of our continent as a whole. And from the time of the first All-African People's Conference in Accra until the recent publication of Nkrumah's searching analysis and indictment of Neo-Colonialism in his latest book, Ghana has been a pace-setter in the African revolution.

The traitor's coup has delighted the enemies of African freedom everywhere. As President Julius Nyerere has pointed out: 'There is jubilation in Salisbury and Johannesburg.' There is also jubilation in London, Washington and Bonn, where the ousting of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party was not only hoped for but no doubt actively plotted and assisted. So also are they rejoicing over the success of their plotting and scheming in Indonesia, where traitor generals have taken over and the villages are red with the blood of massacred Communists.

No doubt these successes of the C.I.A. and similar highly-organised and richly-endowed specialist agencies of counter-revolutionary intervention and subversion do constitute real setbacks to the revolution of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to liberation from colonialism and its consequences, itself an inseparable part of the world-wide revolution against capitalism. But, considered in the time-scale of history, these setbacks cannot be considered as more than momentary hold-ups in the irresistible onward march of the peoples.

Once the traitor generals have taken over, what can they do to solve the real problems of the countries whose administrations they have seized? They can and will please the foreign investors hoping to make more profits out of exploitation of their people. But they cannot

please the masses whom they have sold and betrayed; they cannot relieve their poverty or satisify their aspirations to equality and human dignity. Hated by the masses, increasingly dependent on their foreign backers, it cannot be long before they are exposed as puppets, Tshombes and Kys.

In too many African countries the struggle for independence was headed by short-sighted men who saw mere formal independence as the goal; for whom independence itself was merely an opportunity to enrich themselves, forgetful of the continuing sufferings and hardships of the common people whose sacrifices and struggles placed them in office. As Oginga Odinga has pointed out in his courageous stand of resigning from the government of Kenya and from KANU, these self-seekers are betraying African freedom and independence.

The rejoicing of the imperialists over the coups in Ghana and elsewhere may prove to be premature. True they have removed Kwame Nkrumah for the time being from Accra. But at the same time the eyes of the people are being opened. The traitors within our midst are being exposed: the swindling capitalists, traders and property-grabbers; the unpatriotic elements among the chiefs and feudalists; the 'Western' orientated intellectuals who worship everything foreign and despise their own people; the scheming army men and careerist politicians who are ready to sell Africa back into colonial servitude. The way is paved for a new upsurge of the African people; a second African Revolution far deeper-going and thorough than the first; one which will not merely remove the outward symbols of imperialism but extirpate it root and branch throughout our continent with all its agents and hangers on; awakening and uniting all Africa for genuine freedom and independence, unity and socialism.

AN ABSURD ANTIC

MEMBERS OF THE Coloured People's Congress in South Africa have stood firmly and loyally by their organization through persectuion, prison and torture. They have stood by its wonderful record of militant struggle, which shook the Coloured people, especially in the Western Cape, out of a long period of political apathy and abstentionism; by its firm principles, based on the Freedom Charter, of common struggle by all oppressed people for a free South Africa affording equal rights and opportunities for all; by the fighting comradeship symbolized in the Congress Alliance.

They are not going to be shaken from this allegiance by the defection of two former leading members, Barney Desai and Cardiff Marney, both now in exile, who without the slightest consultation with the membership and at a distance of six thousand miles from home, have

taken it upon themselves to 'solemnly declare' that the C.P.C. is 'dissolved'.

The purpose of this absurd antic is to lend some colour to the pretences of the exiled P.A.C. leaders (strictly for foreign consumption) that P.A.C. has dropped its former chauvinism to become a multiracial organization.

It is sad that exile and distance from South African realities have so disorientated men who once made a worthy contribution to the fight against apartheid, that they have decided to throw in their lot with an organization whose whole history has been one of disruption of that fight. That fight will go on without them. There can be no serious doubt that their action in joining this discredited organization has irretrievably lost Messrs. Desai and Marney whatever support and confidence they may have once enjoyed among the Coloured community.

But there is a more serious side to this charade than the political future of two men. It was a disgracefully irresponsible thing for Desai and Marney to announce publicly, in the safety of London, that the C.P.C., which still enjoys formal legality, had 'merged' with the P.A.C., which, like the African National Congress, has been illegal since 1960. Had this phoney 'dissolution' not promptly been denied and denounced by the C.P.C. leadership, their announcement might have exposed all the members of the Coloured People's Congress to prosecution as members of an illegal organization.

Report on Ghana

Ghana Socialists Fight Back

Dennis Ogden

LESS THAN A MONTH after the military-police coup, a duplicated leaflet signed by a newly-created Committee for the Defence of the Revolution was circulated in Accra. It called upon sincere socialists and 'lowly but staunch' activists to oppose the counter-revolution headed by Gen. Ankrah, Col. (now Maj.-General) Kotoka and Police Commissioner Harley.

The first overt sign of organized resistance to the new regime, the leaflet brands the February 24th coup as 'directed by British and American secret services and helped by West German intelligence', the result of the exploitation of Ga and Ewe tribalism and personal rivalries, aided by the foreign religious missions and business firms, as well as by treacherous elements in the government and the leadership of the Convention People's Party.

The leaflet spotlights the ways in which the new regime is aiding imperialism. It cites:

—the free hand being given to foreign investors;
—the mortgaging of Ghana's economy to the World Bank, which is dominated by U.S. and British interests;
—the shutting down of some state corporations and the handing over of others to private interests;
—cuts in government spending;
—the gradual elimination of foreign exchange control and import licenses;
—the expulsion of socialist technicians and the invitation of more from the western capitalist countries.

'The result of all this,' it warns, 'will be increased unemployment; increased dependence of Ghana's economy on Britain and America; a falling standard of living for the majority of the people side by side with a more than comfortable living standard for a small class of business men, top civil servants, top army and police officers and privileged intellectuals.'

The self-styled 'National Liberation Council' (made up entirely of army and police officers and during the first days with its offices in Police Headquarters) has betrayed the four million Africans of Rhodesia by re-establishing diplomatic relations with Britain, the leaflet goes on. It has expelled freedom fighters from Accra and refused aid to liberation movements. As a result, 'Ghana is already losing the pride of

place in Africa won for her by the dymanic anti-imperialist policy of Nkrumah.'

To cover up its betrayal, the Ankrah regime is resorting to manoeuvres to confuse the people, charges the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution. Among such manoeuvres it lists the campaign of vilification directed against Nkrumah, the promises of price cuts (though prices have in fact risen since the coup), the promises of salary increases for civil servants—though one in ten will lose their jobs as a result of the new regime's cuts in spending, and the widely-publicized probes into the bank accounts of a few—though not into those of the new regime's backers.

'These tricks are bound to fail because soon everybody will see that the N.L.C. men are there to serve the interests of their capitalist and foreign business friends.' The first moves of the new regime, the Committee notes, included the abolition of the tax on rents, the reduction of the tax on cars, the dropping of the proposed increase in the tax on incomes above £1,600 and measures to ease the transfer of money abroad.

The establishment of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution, flinging down its bold challenge to the military-police dictatorship —'the revolution, *our* revolution, will fight back'—testifies to the fact that the seeds sown during the struggle to transform the Convention People's Party into a vanguard party leading and organizing the masses on the basis of scientific socialism are bearing fruit despite the bitter set-back of February 24th.

It has emerged despite the wave of mass arrests (some put the figure as high as 2,000) in the days following the coup, when those taken into a Nazi-style 'protective custody' included every M.P., every Minister, local party officials and activists, trade union leaders, journalists and progressive intellectuals.

Although the new regime has cunningly exploited the difficulties confronting Ghana, it cannot solve them. They are the legacy of Ghana's colonial past and the consequences of imperialist policy. They can be solved only by resolute action to overcome this legacy and to defeat this policy—action the new regime will not take.

The Accra coup is the latest, most ominous development in imperialism's counter-offensive in Africa. Coming on the heels of the reactionary military take-overs in Burundi, the Congo, the Central African Republic and Dahomey, the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah is the biggest success yet scored by this counter-offensive.

For, as even his critics acknowledge, Kwame Nkrumah

has had a profound effect on the continent, an effect which in some ways may be permanent. Without the impetus which he brought to the demand for independence, it might have been long delayed . . . no independent African state has been unaffected by the cause to which he dedicated Ghana, African Unity (*West Africa*, 19.3.66).

London and Washington did not conceal their jubilation; Smith and Verwoerd breathed more easily; neo-colonialist puppets like Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast were quick to hail the coup, while to those opposing the advance of neo-colonialism in Kenya and elsewhere the news came as a blow.

Condemnation of the coup came from Guinea, Mali, Tanzania, the United Arab Republic—the countries which have been in the forefront of the struggle for Africa's unity and complete emancipation.

A BLOW TO PEACE

The overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah likewise represents a serious blow to peace and national liberation beyond Africa's shores. His policy of positive non-alignment, his support for an end to the U.S. bombing in Vietnam and for peace through negotiations, and for measures to secure geniune disarmament and a reduction of world tension constituted a genuine contribution to the cause of world peace.

Sensitive to African opinion, the new regime was quick to claim that it will continue the policy of support for the total liberation of Africa and for the Organization of African Unity—but one of its first moves was to shut down camps where freedom fighters from Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese and Spanish colonies had been trained—trained, be it noted, in implementation of O.A.U. decisions. Gen. Ankrah's decision to close these camps is in flat contradiction to his pledge of continued support for the O.A.U., and evidence only of his desire to curry favour with Africa's oppressors.

Gen. Ankrah likewise proclaimed a policy of what he termed 'genuine' neutrality. In practice, this meant a vicious campaign of anti-Soviet smears, with the expulsion, and in some cases the manhandling, of socialist technicians and diplomats. Meanwhile the grossly inflated U.S. Embassy staff, bigger by far than those of the Soviet and Chinese embassies combined, the Peace Corps and the other Americans remain, together with the British and the increasingly influential West Germans.

In its first policy statement broadcast at 1 p.m. on the day of the take-over, the Ankrah regime asserted that 'the economic situation of the country is in such a chaotic condition that, unless something is done about it now, the whole economic system will collapse . . . the country is on the verge of national bankruptcy.'

Echoing an argument which had long been part of the stock-in-trade of Ghana's imperialist enemies, it painted a glib picture of a Ghana which had inherited a rich patrimony from its former colonial rulers, only to have it frittered away by 'gross economic mismanagement' and 'prestige spending'.

The 'rich patrimony' was in fact a distorted economy largely geared to the production of a single crop—cocoa—upon which Ghana had to depend for some two-thirds of her foreign currency earnings. It is from this fact that the economic difficulties stem which the new regime has been able so skilfully to exploit in the main.

With the achievement of political independence in 1957, the main task became the winning of economic independence through the eradication of the legacy of colonial rule and the creation of a balanced, diversified economy.

IMPERIALISM WITHOUT THE FLAG

Kwame Nkrumah saw that the non-capitalist road was the only way forward. Socialism, he declared, is the only alternative. He saw that for a developing country to follow the capitalist path could only mean that its national economy would remain in the hands of foreign capital. The inevitable consequence would be a neo-colonialist regime—'imperialism without the flag' as he so expressively termed it.

He saw, too, that even Ghana's relatively well-developed national bourgeoisie lacked the capital needed to transform the country's economy, and that in any case to give this class free rein would mean that the fruits of development would flow into the pockets of the few and not be used for the benefit of the country as a whole.

So, while he envisaged that Ghana would for a long time remain a country with a mixed economy, his aim was clear: 'We are determined that the economic independence of Ghana shall be achieved and maintained so as to avoid the social antagonisms resulting from the unequal distribution of economic power,' he said.

'We are equally determined to ensure that the operation of a mixed economy leads to the socialist transformation we envisage, and not to the defeat of our socialist aims.'

The maximum encouragement was to be given to the public and co-operative sectors, with investment regulated to ensure its most effective use. Foreign investment was to be similarly controlled to ensure that Ghana's interests were safeguarded.

'We welcome foreign investors in a spirit of partnership,' he said. 'They can earn their profits here provided they leave us an agreed portion for promoting the welfare and happiness of our people as a whole as against the greedy ambitions of the few. . . . Our government

has always insisted that the operations of all economic enterprises in Ghana should conform to the national economic objectives and be subject to the rules and regulations which are made in pursuance of our socialist policies.'

Ghana's advance was charted in the Seven-Year Development Plan. Introducing it in March 1964, Kwame Nkrumah defined its main aims as the acceleration of national economic rates of growth, the preparing of the way for the socialist transformation of the economy through the rapid development of the state and co-operative sectors, and the complete eradication of the economic vestiges of colonialism.

Under its terms, new factories ranging from a steel mill to a chocolate factory were built, some state-owned, some joint state and private, some private.

THE VOLTA PROJECT

Ghana's progress was symbolized by the three-phase Volta River Project, one of the most ambitious development schemes in Africa—or, indeed, in the whole world.

Phase One was the building of a new port at Tema, some fifteen miles from Accra. At a cost of some £35 million drawn entirely from its own resources, the government of the Convention People's Party built one of the finest man-made harbours in Africa.

Phase Two was the building of the Akosombo Dam on the Volta River sixty miles north of Tema. Commissioned a year ahead of schedule and at a cost substantially less than the original estimate, it is already supplying power. Ghana herself paid half the bill; the other half was split three ways with loans at normal commercial rates from the International Bank, the United States and Britain. *Not a penny was given.*

Phase Three is the building, just started, of a £50 million aluminium smelter at Tema by V.A.L.C.O., a Ghana-registered consortuim of two U.S. companies which, under the terms of the agreement negotiated by the government, were to contribute a portion of their profits to a special fund to finance educational and social projects in Ghana.

As envisaged by Kwame Nkrumah, the Volta Project was to change the face of Ghana, providing abundant power for new industries and for domestic consumers, creating new possibilities for north-south water transport, fishing and irrigation through the creation of the largest man-made lake in the world.

It is the embodiment of the new Ghana that Kwame Nkrumah and the best elements in the C.P.P. were striving to build. It is an answer to those who claim that Ghana's patrimony has been wasted.

Another is the progress made in the modernization and diversifica-

tion of agriculture through the development of state and co-operative farms and by varied forms of encouragement for the individual farmer. Great efforts were made to introduce new crops, such as rice and rubber, to end excessive dependence on cocoa, help supply the new industries and cut imports.

Yet another answer is the immense and purposeful social progress made since independence: great strides were made towards free and compulsory elementary and secondary education; universities and higher educational establishments like those at Cape Coast and Kumasi were built, while university education became free; progress was made toward a free health service, and the first steps taken toward the introduction of a social insurance scheme, including unemployment benefits and pensions.

These are some of the facts which the new regime with its talk of 'gross economic mismanagement' and 'prestige spending' would like to obscure as a prelude to whittling away the benefits which the people of Ghana have reaped as a result of C.P.P. administration.

It was on these projects—projects designed to make Ghana economically independent and strong, and to give her people a richer, fuller life—that Ghana's reserves had to be spent.

THE PRICE OF COCOA

For this immense programme of economic and social advance—unparalleled anywhere else in Africa—meant increased spending abroad to buy the machinery for the new factories and the equipment for the new schools, universities and hospitals.

Ghana had to rely on the sale of cocoa to earn the money, and the Seven-Year Plan was drafted on the assumption that an increased output (production more than doubled between 1956 and 1964) would be sold at a minimum of £190-£200 a ton, ensuring an average annual foreign currency income from this source of £86 million.

The cocoa monopolies, with the tacit agreement of western governments, had in the post-war years repeatedly urged Ghana to increase output and repeatedly pledged that, no matter how much output was increased, they would guarantee a fair and stable price of at least £200-£250 a ton.

But after Ghana had spent considerable sums on measures to expand production, and production had more than doubled, all the promises were forgotten. Thanks to market manipulation by the monopolies, the price last summer fell to an all-time low of £85 a ton (compared with £467 a ton in the early pre-independence '50s) and Ghana's foreign currency earnings slumped to below pre-1957 levels—despite the fact that she had produced and sold more cocoa than ever before.

Meanwhile the price of the industrial goods which she had to buy for her development programme soared.

Ghana's losses as a result of cocoa market manipulation and the imperialist policy of buying cheap and selling dear are estimated at more than £500 million, and it was this, and not 'gross economic mismanagement' or 'prestige spending' which was the primary cause of the drain on Ghana's reserves and the economic difficulties she faced.

She was obliged to resort to credits to a much greater extent than would otherwise have been the case—and it must be emphasized that, in the words of *West Africa* (19.3.66) 'the bulk of the suppliers' credits which are a millstone around the country's neck come from the West.' Service charges on these credits last year swallowed up one quarter of Ghana's already diminished foreign earnings. Western big business not only robbed Ghana by manipulation of the cocoa market; it also exacted a usurer's tribute from the credits which its own manipulations had made necessary.

For over a year Ghana had been trying to re-negotiate the terms of these credits to win a breathing space to enable her new industries to reach their full potential. She herself took steps to check wasteful and non-productive spending in the state corporations and the Foreign Service.

But the capitalist countries were out to take advantage of Ghana's temporary difficulties to make her renounce her policy of development along non-capitalist lines by making assistance conditional on increased opportunities and improved terms for foreign investors and cut-backs in the public sector—demands which Kwame Nkrumah rejected, but which the new regime has already started to concede.

The socialist countries, on the other hand, agreed to a moratorium on interest and capital repayments on their credits in talks late last year during a tour of Eastern Europe undertaken by Finance Minister Amoaka-Atta.

SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE

Co-operation with these countries, particularly the Soviet Union, had been making an important contribution to Ghana's economic progress. Czechoslovak technicians were helping build a sugar refinery, Rumanian geologists had found the first traces of oil, while Soviet specialists were helping build Ghana's fishing fleet, working on the state farms, building a gold refinery and constructing an atomic research reactor, to mention but a few projects.

The majority of the science and mathematics teachers in Ghana's secondary school were also Soviet young people: one aspect of the

'rich patrimony' bequeathed by colonialism was an almost complete lack of Ghanaian graduates in these fields.

The expulsion of the socialist technicians will have serious consequences for Ghana's economic development—a fact which the new regime is apparently ready to ignore in its eagerness to curry favour with the west.

Trade with the socialist countries has increased substantially. This went some way towards easing the impact of the balance of payments problem—a problem which was essentially one of trade with the capitalist countries. The socialist countries had greatly increased their purchases of cocoa under long-term agreements at above world market prices. They were also anxious to buy other Ghanaian exports, such as minerals and timber, but these items were frequently under the control of British companies. Ghana's imports from the socialist countries were likewise growing.

This wide-ranging co-operation with the socialist countries aroused great concern in the west, particularly in Britain and the United States, and also among right-wing elements in Ghana itself.

In the months immediately prior to the coup, these elements had been preparing an offensive against this co-operation, led by the Minister of Trade (and former High Commissioner in London) Mr. Kwesi Armah. Mr. Armah had refused to accompany Finance Minister Mr. Amoaka-Atta on his tour of the socialist countries in order the better to attack its results.

In brief, these elements argued that the price of cocoa in the capitalist world market was increasing, therefore it would be better to sell to the west and not to the socialist countries. This, they argued, would enable Ghana to go on buying 'the goods to which the Ghanaian customer is traditionally accustomed'—in other words, the western goods that well-to-do Ghanaians so liked. They were also able to exploit shortcomings in the finish, packaging and marketing of goods from the socialist countries.

Their arguments ignored one important fact: that the price of cocoa in the capitalist world market had shown some slight increase because the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, had bought so much. They also forgot that prices in the capitalist market could come down again, unlike those paid by the socialist countries, which were governed by long-term agreements.

The new regime has claimed that it considers itself bound by the agreements entered into by the government of Kwame Nkrumah, and has specifically mentioned the cocoa agreements. But the chairman of its Economic Commission, Mr. E. N. Omaboe, has already hinted that he wants them considerably revised.

INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION

Shortage of foreign currency made controls necessary. But controls are difficult to enforce when foreign trade is largely in the hands of large foreign firms, and when they have to be administered by officials who are at best inexperienced and at worst corrupt.

As a result of interruptions in deliveries, for example, some of the new factories were obliged to work below capacity, or to close down altogether because of lack of spares, while the whole of Accra's public transport was at one time off the road for the same reason.

There were interruptions too in deliveries of imported basic foodstuffs such as rice. The situation was exacerbated by speculation and black-marketeering by traders—among them prominent members of the government and C.P.P. and their wives—who, taking advantage of the pass-book system, cornered supplies to boost prices still higher.

Investigation was blocked at every turn. Even the much-publicized Abraham Commission which last year conducted an enquiry into trade malpractices exposed only small fry—and Trade Minister Kwesi Armah used its findings as a pretext to deprive the state-owned Ghana National Trading Corporation of the limited exclusive import rights it enjoyed and to transfer them back to the big foreign companies.

Speculation and profiteering were likewise rife in the marketing of locally grown foodstuffs which forms the staple diet of ordinary Ghanaians. Prices of locally grown fruit were in many cases higher than the prices of similar produce in London.

Here again measures to check price increases were blocked by powerful vested interests: leading officers of the Ghana National Association of Women who should have been playing a leading part in the fight to bring prices down were themselves reaping huge profits as market 'Queens'.

Nkrumah repeatedly tried to take action against those responsible for speculation and profiteering, for bribery and corruption. He failed. The new regime will not even try.

The military-police regime is trying to smear Kwame Nkrumah by claiming that he himself amassed a large personal fortune. It brought Ayek-Kumi, a former economic adviser (and himself one of Ghana's richest capitalists) from 'protective custody' to produce the 'evidence'.

Ayek-Kumi's technique was to point to corporations which were either publicly owned or the property of the C.P.P. and of which the President was chairman. On this basis he claimed that they were the President's personal property. By the same token it could be said that Britain's coal mines are 'owned' by the chairman of the National Coal Board!

The deeper reasons for the failure to root out the speculation, profit-

eering, corruption and ostentatious living which sowed the seeds of disillusionment and eroded popular support for the C.P.P. are to be sought in the history of the C.P.P. itself.

THE GHANAIAN BOURGEOISIE

The fight for political independence had united all sections of the population. For the rank-and-file Ghanaian, it was the first step on the road to a richer fuller life for all, free from exploitation; for the Ghanaian national bourgeoisie it was a means of establishing its own rule, opening up new opportunities for enrichment.

Some of the Ghanaian national bourgeoisie had supported the C.P.P. in the fight for independence from the outset; others went through the motions of transferring their support to it when the parties which had openly voiced their aspirations passed into oblivion, having failed to win popular support. But few had any genuine sympathy for the aim, once independence had been won, of building a socialist Ghana and transforming the C.P.P. into a vanguard party on the basis of scientific socialism.

In the words of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution, 'we have suffered this setback because the top men in our party, though paying lip service to Kwame Nkrumah, were disloyal to the party and to socialism. They amassed wealth. And to protect their wealth, they worked to destroy the party.'

Unlike many other African countries, Ghana has a relatively well-developed middle class of merchants, lawyers and civil servants, reared in the British tradition. It was through these that Kwame Nkrumah was obliged to work. Many of them served the cause of the new Ghana loyally; others resorted to obstructionism and, ultimately, betrayal.

By contrast, the working class, through growing, was relatively small and inadequately organized. The C.P.P. had been unable to build a genuine democratic political life at grass roots level; its local branches were either non-existent or functioned badly; party life was too often confined to resolutions passed at the top. The same problem confronted the trade unions and other mass organisations.

The fight for socialist ideas was too often replaced by personal adulation of Kwame Nkrumah—with the right wing elements the most zealous practitioners in their efforts to exploit the President's position for their own ends. Ideological education was too often abstract and remote from the problems confronting party activists in their day-to-day work. Those fighting for a socialist Ghana were too often unable to present a united front in the face of the mounting right-wing offensive which was a feature of Ghana's political life during the closing

months of 1965 and the first months of this year. In consequence, the ideas of capitalism and neo-colonialism remained a potent force, while those of socialism fought a battle against great odds.

But, as the emergence of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution has dramatically demonstrated, the cause of socialism still lives and fights on in Ghana. Its ultimate victory is certain.

'AGAINST THE
AFRICAN REVOLUTION'

—Nkrumah

'The instigated rebellion by certain army and police officers was directed not only against Ghana but also against the African Revolution and the unity and independence of our continent'

—KWAME NKRUMAH

Free Ghana—Free Africa

Christine Johnson

I HAVE JUST recently returned from a trip to Ghana and saw the formal opening of the Volta River Dam. I think I should make known to you the progress of Ghana in the five or six years under an African President, progress that the British and ruling Chiefs did not do in the hundreds of years they ruled.

First there are State and Co-operative Farms, that did increase food production, in spite of lies of the press and radio. Chicken farms and cattle ranches at Pong-Tamale with over 700 herds, sheep ranches at Demon near Yende. In the North where the climate favours cereal farming, rice, ground nuts, and tubers are grown. In the South palm oil, cashew nuts, citrus fruits, tubers and vegetables are grown. In the Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti regions colanuts, fruits and vegetables grow. In farms in the Central, Western and Eastern regions tobacco, coffee, tubers and other crops grow. Cotton and sorghum are exclusively grown on state farms in the Volta region. None of this was there under British rule and the rule of the Chiefs. Most of the food was imported, especially beef.

To supply the country of Ghana with sufficient protein, the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, replaced traditional canoes with modern fishing boats, stepping up the development of fresh water fisheries and improving training facilities for fishermen, but the economic advisers to the new regime in Ghana say this should be cancelled because 'the fishing complex appeared to be an unviable project'. *Chicago Sun Times*, March 3rd, 1966.

There's a 1,740 acre Ghana Agricultural Milk Station at Nungua near Accra, that produces pasteurized milk. Fresh milk for the people was unknown under British rule and the rule of the Chiefs.

HEALTH CENTRES

Many health centres, hospitals and institutes have been added for the health and welfare of the people, in villages as well as cities. None of these were there under the rule of Britain. There are nearly 500 medical practitioners and dentists serving the 3,300 Government and Government-affiliated hospitals in the country. There are about fifty health centres in the country with medical officers attached to them. An important aspect of the expansion and improvement of the country's health services is the modernization of the existing hospitals. The Korle Bu hospital in Accra has been modernized. There are children and

maternity hospitals; surgical wards; an operating theatre; and modern operating centres. The mental hospital in Accra has a patient population of about 2,000; it is proposed to build five more mental hospitals in the region. A Malaria Unit is engaged in association with the World Health Organization on a Malaria Eradication Project which forms part of the world campaign to eradicate malaria. A Medical School has been established. A large number of Ghanaians are also studying medicine and hospital administration abroad.

INDUSTRIES

Before Ghana became independent, the country was almost without a single industry. Her economy depended largely on her agricultural resources, chiefly cocoa.

The price of cocoa was dropped at an alarming rate by the Western countries after the independence of Ghana, to impair the economy, but now Ghana has a candy factory at Tema that makes their own chocolate, called the 'Golden Tree'.

Formerly a great deal of money was spent on imported commodities like safety matches, shoes, nails, meat and fish, and luxuries like sweets, alcoholic drinks and cigarettes. Today, there are some ninety or more industries established throughout the length and breadth of the country. The progress so far made, has been the result of the Government's comprehensive industrial and economic programme.

Ghana now produces her own safety matches, paints, nails, biscuits, spirits, cooking utensils, roofing materials, canned fruits, meat and fish and has its own chemical factory for producing insecticides and other chemicals. There is also a steel works at Tema twenty miles from Accra.

Other factories in operation at the moment include two breweries, a milk processing plant, mattress, lorry and bicycle assembly plants and oil refinery.

Oil drilling was begun at Atiavi and Angola in the Volta region. High grade bauxite has been discovered in the Kibi area in the Eastern region and a twenty-mile strip of gold ore deposit was found along the Offin River. Various types of granite rocks in many regions could be used for putting up massive buildings. Some of the other minerals discovered are talc for toothpaste and vim, chromite, from which high tensile steel can be manufactured, and bauxite which abounds in almost all regions for producing aluminium. All this leads the *Chicago Daily News*, February 24th, 1966, to say 'Ghana potentially is one of the wealthiest states of West Africa'.

A factory to produce pre-fabricated houses for between 220 and 250 people per week was started full scale in December 1965. Now the new

Government will scrap this project says the *Sun Times*, March 3rd, 1966. The Nkrumah Government had decided to provide workers' houses in two residential areas, one at Odorkor in Accra, for 22,000 persons and the other at Community No. 3 at Tema for 11,000. During the four-year period of building the Volta River Dam over 80,000 persons were relocated into better housing. All of this was done since the British left Ghana.

The State Textile Manufacturing Corporation at Tema is now producing large quantities of material of different designs and colours, which formerly had to be imported from European countries.

EDUCATION

Again, look at the picture regarding education since the British left. In 1957 there were 3,372 primary schools with an enrolment of 455,749 and 931 middle schools with an enrolment of 115,831; by 1963 this had grown to 6,034 primary and 1,252 middle schools with an enrolment of 700,980 and 160,000 pupils respectively. There were 23,000 pupils at High Schools in 1963 as against 9,860 in 1957.

Primary and middle schools are entirely free and compulsory. Parents pay no fees and buy no books. Secondary school students are also supplied free books. From this you can see the tremendous advance of education in the six or seven years that Ghana has had its independence.

Now why am I telling you this? Because I am sure that most of you have no knowledge of what has been going on in Ghana other than the poison press of the West. I plan to show by facts and figures that under the guidance of President Nkrumah, the people did receive benefits and the label of 'Despot' is a lie by the very people that had him deposed. Under the British the people had nothing, but the same press has not made it known to you.

There was great jubilation among the Western powers and their hirelings over the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, but let us keep a cool head and a clear mind, because Ghana has a long way to go to find out that it requires brains and much hard work to run a country. What has happened in Ghana in the past six years has infuriated the power structure and Kwame Nkrumah wasn't their 'boy' so they had to get rid of him.

I was in Ghana in 1957, 1960, 1962 and 1966. I took many pictures of the building and other improvements as positive proof of what the Government was doing for the people. I saw none of these things in 1957 and I was all over the country. Mud huts were the order of the day. Today some of the villages have electricity, prefabricated houses and running water. I made pictures of Tema in 1957 which was a small

mud hut village. Today it is a shining city of 50,000 or more population, with sidewalks, electricity, pre-fabricated houses and modern conveniences. This proves that the Ghana Government was not spending the money on themselves and sending it out of the country. On the contrary the reason they couldn't find any money that Nkrumah had in foreign banks is that he never sent any out to put in there in the first place.

WHY THEY HATE NKRUMAH

The power structure hates Nkrumah because he is a man. And as William R. Frye, writing in the *Sun Times*, February 27th, 1966, said, 'What is involved, and what makes the problem so explosive, is a profoundly compulsive drive by black men to prove—and force white men to acknowledge—that they are the equal of whites in every field of endeavour: political, economic, cultural, spiritual'.

The structure also fears Nkrumah because he is fearless and smart. This is one thing a white racialist cannot forgive in a black man. William H. Stoneman reporting from London for the *Daily News*, February 24th, 1966, stated, 'Nkrumah is regarded by the British as one of the most dangerous figures in Africa'. Yes, Nkrumah is the most 'dangerous' figure in Africa today, because he is a man who knows the enemy, and does not hesitate to name names, quote phrases that the enemy has stated and speak out fearlessly on issues that affect Africa and people of African descent wherever they may be. He well realizes that Africa must be for the Africans, all Africans, not just a select few and in his words 'the so-called little man, the bent-backed exploited, malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence, the African that lives in the mud huts, not only in Africa, and kept there by generations of British rule and condoned by the Chiefs'.

He realizes that as long as the West has rule over the economy of Africa, freedom is meaningless. He is not for tokenism or a small number of privileges, while his brother still suffers the same indignities that was meted out under colonial rule.

Those mad men in power, who think that Africa belongs to a select few and not to all the people are flirting with death. That day died when Britain pulled out and it will never return. I am a descendant of Africa and it was men like these who have taken over Ghana, that deprived me of my birthright. These same kind of mad men helped the Europeans and Americans to send their own brothers into slavery across the seas, because of greed, selfishness and ignorance. So, I too, have a share in Africa, it is my homeland even if I never see it again, and I'll fight to set it free and drive the intruders out.

THE SHAME OF AFRICA

The shame of Africa and people of African descent is that we still have people that will sell out to the enemy for privileges and the thought of prestige and money. All Africans and people of African descent everywhere should be ashamed of the fact, that as the *Tribune* editorial of February 26th, 1966, points out 'Two African Governments overthrown by revolution in 1964; four overthrown in all of 1965, and already four overthrown in the first seven weeks of 1966. Who is behind the seizure by the armies of these Governments?' The *Tribune* doesn't say, but we know who instigated the overthrows and who acted as puppets to carry out the orders of their neo-colonial masters, and we know that the *Tribune* knows.

'Neo-colonialism,' says Nkrumah, 'is based upon the principle of breaking up former large united colonial territories into a number of small non-viable states which are incapable of independent development and must rely upon the former imperial power for defence and even internal security. Their economic and financial systems are linked, as in colonial days, with those of the former colonial ruler.'

In Lagos, Nigeria, Ghanaian lackey exiles promised to call on Britain and America if Nkrumah tried to regain control. And yet the *Tribune* doesn't know who was behind the overthrow of the different Governments. The lackeys of these governments wish again to live under the rule of the British and imperialist America, they are boys with no hope of ever becoming men.

The colonial powers are worried about the image of Nkrumah. They're out to end the Nkrumah myth. Says the *Tribune*, February 26th, 1966, 'Putting an end to the Nkrumah myth will not be an easy task. Dozens of schools, streets, squares, stadiums and other public places will have to be renamed. Text books will have to be rewritten and the youth of Ghana will have to be re-educated to see the former President in true perspective.'

Whose image do they want the children to have—Queen Elizabeth or L. B. Johnson? At any rate the image should be white. The names of the streets, public places, etc., should be British or American, then the children of black Ghana will get the right perspective. Before Nkrumah came the images were all white. The children read all about *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, *Ten Little Niggers* by Agatha Christie (who changed the title for America to *Ten Little Indians*), the white Queen of England, little golden-haired-white-faced boys and girls of England playing in snow. All foreign to a child that lives all its life in the tropics, grows up and dies and if he never leaves home, which thousands don't, never actually sees snow. The thought of

losing his image infuriates the colonial master and he gets brainless stooges to carry out a senseless coup.

LET'S FREE AFRICA

Must we continue to glorify and deify the white image? When are we going to become Freedom Fighters in the true sense? Have you asked yourself why we still cringe and crawl after the white image? The writing of books has been well advanced in Ghana, because Nkrumah finally made the people see that the African must have a personality and that personality must be black. He has often stated 'I live not for myself but for the good of the whole people. The socialist ideals which we pursue, must imbue all with a spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of the nation, to the cause of Africa and to the cause of the world'. I heard him say the same thing in a different setting nearly thirty years ago and I know that he is dedicated to the complete, unselfish redemption of Africa.

Yes, Ghana has been taken over by misguided men, Nkrumah has been ousted, but only for a little while. He did his work too well for the people of Ghana not to fight for the ideas he has instilled into them.

Let Rhodesia and Ian Smith rejoice; let there be dancing in the street, breaking of statues, burning of books; but let all listen and beware, there is a wind of change blowing throughout the world and men will be free. All men will be free. Let the United States send soldiers to be killed 'freeing' the people of South Vietnam, while the Indians live in poverty and hunger in America on reservations and the African-American lives in slums in the North and tents in the South. They can't push time back; the wretched of the earth will be free.

Each and everyone seem to think that he can run his affairs, and be a carbon copy of his colonial masters. What they don't realize is that the way of life the colonial masters had, is gone forever. Each and everyone will share in the wealth of this earth, or no one will share in peace. So to the rulers of Ghana, Nkrumah has gone, but he left an imprint and image on the hearts and minds of each and every man, woman and child in Ghana and throughout the world. What is needed now is for each and every one of us to bring, not only Ghana, but all of Africa into the plan of Africa for the Africans at home and abroad.

Long live Nkrumah! Let's free Africa, thereby freeing ourselves.

Inside the United States—1

Negro Oppression and U.S. Foreign Policy

Claude Lightfoot

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, after several months of intensive preparation, have opened up headquarters in Chicago. The historic nature of this move can be appreciated fully only as time goes by. It may well mark the end of an era and herald the beginning of a new one.

As is always true in social phenomena, it is possible to see in broad outline the nature of things to come. However, the forms events take must await the actions of the masses and the judgment of history. We shall, therefore, concern ourselves in this discussion with what is new and aborning.

In recent years there have been many significant phases of civil rights struggles. Each time they have brought to the surface new problems and new challenges and successfully coping with them has advanced the movement to higher levels of development. Taken in their totality, they have represented a historic leap in revolutionizing everything on the American scene.

The present phase is pregnant with many new problems as well as opportunities. It calls for a review of every aspect of the struggle. But for the purposes of this article we shall confine ourselves to what is new in respect to the relationship of the fight for peace to civil rights.

Profound changes are in the offing in this regard.

The decision of the King-led Southern Movement to come north accelerates afresh the necessity for civil rights forces to understand what is required to break out of the stage of 'tokenism' and to make substantial advances against the whole system of jim-crow and segregation.

The explosion in Watts last year, earlier in Harlem and a few smaller ghettoes provides the backdrop of Dr. King's decision to extend his activities into the North with Chicago as the main focal point.

What is prevalent in the conditions in Watts reflects every Negro ghetto in America. There is a time bomb ticking away in every one of them and unless measures are forthcoming to relieve the problems, violence is going to erupt all over America. It is to be hoped that a situation like Watts, which has happened twice, will not be required again to warn those in control of the power structure that the preva-

lence of such conditions is not in the national interest, to put it mildly. The movement in Chicago points up all the things that are required to meet these problems substantially. Let us discuss them.

INHUMAN GHETTOES FOR NEGROES

These civil rights forces have placed on the agenda a long range goal of eliminating 'slums and slumism'. Slumism is meant to sloganize all the problems of inadequate housing, low income, higher rates of unemployment, inferior education and a host of other dehumanizing features which characterize ghetto life. The foregoing would indicate that ghetto life places on the agenda, not only problems there but in all areas of our national life. The solution to the kind of problems posed within them will require far reaching changes in every area of national life. Thus these problems cannot be approached with just a pure humanitarian approach by some 'do-gooders'. All pro-democratic forces within the country will have to realize that their own self-interest is intertwined in many ways with the outcome of the King effort to organize the Chicago ghetto, to advance a programme to effect solutions of them.

One of the basic features of this new phase of the struggle is the shifting of the centre of gravity to the economic aspects of jim-crow. Space does not permit a detailed evaluation of gains by the civil rights movement in the last eleven years. Suffice it to say that the gains have been substantial in some aspects of social discrimination, namely, desegregation of hotels, restaurants and other public places. However, the presidential decisions on desegregating schools 'with all deliberate speed', outlawing restrictive covenants, which were rendered eleven to fifteen years ago, have not been complied with, as only 7 or 8 per cent of Negro students have been integrated in the South and the most stubborn resistance is found in every Northern city. And court decisions on restrictive covenants fall flat as Negro ghettoes have expanded in every major city in the country. These observations notwithstanding, there have been some areas in which the breakthrough has been substantial beyond social matters such as the large entry of Negroes in sports. But the chief characteristic of our gains is still 'tokenism' or none at all. Using as a yardstick of measurement issue by issue, in terms of time required to effect changes, my people—the Negro people—are still a hundred years away from freedom.

In respect to the economic problems, the gains have not only been token or minimal but we have lost ground. And it is this aspect of the problem which now arises to challenge the nation to find solutions and quickly.

The economic condition of the Negro masses has worsened in a

period that witnessed an enlargement of Negro employment in some higher paying jobs, especially in Government service. But this window dressing is exposed to the light of day as situations develop, as in Watts last year.

The main significance of this new phase of the struggle and the signal importance of the King drive in Chicago is that the solution to economic problems comes to the forefront and impinges on the solution of a lot of other problems.

What then is the relationship of these to the fight for peace?

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The proper evaluation of this point requires some examination of our foreign policy. And while this treatment of the problem does not pretend to be an exhaustive analysis, it is presented as a skeleton, a framework of reference to show how the present phase of the civil rights struggle requires a change in foreign policy.

American foreign policy ever since the inauguration of the cold war by the late Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 has been on a collision course. The seeds for this policy were sown before World War II had ended. At that time two theories were advanced as to the character of the post-war world. On the one hand, there were those who summed up the world to come as the 'American Century'. This concept foresaw the possibility of the big monopolies and corporations of our country establishing their economic and political hegemony on every continent of the earth. It was a policy which called for America to replace the old colonialist power in Asia, Africa, Central and South America by their direct control. It was a policy designed to put the other capitalist powers under the control of American capitalism. It was a policy to prevent the extension of socialism in the world.

These threefold objectives have failed and the other concept advanced during the period has come to the forefront. Henry Agard Wallace, then Vice-President of the United States, foresaw the future as 'the century of the common man', The major events and developments of the last twenty years show beyond the shadow of a doubt that Mr. Wallace was correct and Mr. Luce, the chief advocate of the American Century, was wrong.

American policy twenty years later is in shambles. Its hegemony of the capitalist world was temporary. Most capitalist nations are beginning to pursue independent policies. In this regard France is the outstanding example. Today American imperialist policy in Europe rests largely on its relationship with West Germany in which former Nazis saturate the political scene.

The Truman doctrine did not contain Communism. During this period the socialist sector of the world became the stronger and the major force determining the character of tomorrow's world. It embraces one-third of all mankind and in the foreseeable future will represent the majority of the earth's people. This latter point is primarily reinforced by the emergence of most of the former colonial peoples who have wrested independence from the former colonial overlords in France, Britain, Belgium, etc. This sector of the world contains the objective existence of seeds which will enlarge the socialist sector as against the capitalist, military coups, such as in Indonesia and Ghana, notwithstanding. World reaction against U.S. policy in South Vietnam is a symbol of the bankruptcy of the 'American century'.

Our country in pursuing the policies of the advocates of the American century has earned for us the hatred of the majority of mankind. 'Yankee Go Home' and 'the Ugly American' greets Americans no matter where they go on this globe. The foregoing should suffice to show that new directional signals are needed in Washington in both foreign and domestic policy.

The pursuit of imperialist goals, the price America is paying for playing the role of policeman, has already cost us staggering sums of money. The future of generations of Americans unborn has been pawned as the national debt has reached astronomical figures of over 300 billion dollars, and will continue to mount unless there is a change in policy.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

In this regard American policy makers obsessed and possessed by some theory of their superiority have learned nothing from the lessons of history. Nations have risen or fallen as a result of their position towards the revolutions and wars of their time. The latest and most classic example is the position of Great Britain in today's world. At the beginning of the century it was the greatest power on earth. School children were awed by its power as they learned that 'the sun never sets on the British Empire'. Largely as the result of having to carry the brunt of two world wars, as a result of revolutions these wars helped to unleash, Great Britain is now a fourth or fifth rate power with as yet no capacity for independence, and it becomes more and more a vassal of the United States.

American pre-eminence in the world is due largely to its favoured geographical position during these wars and revolutions as well as its capacity through tremendous resources, skilled workers, etc., to become the workshop which fed the wars and supplied the markets of others which had been cut off as a result of being totally involved in war.

The irony of history is that at one point Great Britain had grown, prospered, become the leading world power as a result of wars on the European continent.

In the seventeenth century, Holland was the leading capitalist power. A century later its position was taken over by Great Britain mainly for the same reasons that Britain in this first half of the century was superseded by the United States.

To feed the needs of the cold war, to play the role of policeman all over the globe is rapidly putting the United States in the same position that has caused the downfall of empires in all ages.

Because the United States has occupied a position that is unique; because our standard of living is higher than anywhere else in the world, these facts have blinded many to the cancerous nature of many germs in our national body.

The outburst at Watts last year is but one of many germs, which, if not cured, will render the national body in a condition where even an operation will not save it.

The cold facts which stare us in the face are that the economy is not shock proof, that we cannot have guns and butter at the same time. The demagogic position of President Johnson which escalates the role of policeman in foreign affairs and the noise and fanfare about poverty, rebuilding our cities, etc., fool only the feeble-minded. We have reached a point where the conditions of life will not tolerate rhetoric and feeble gestures. Only substantial measures can meet them.

Therein lies one of the main significant features of this new phase of the civil rights struggle.

The coming of Dr. King to Chicago and the problems this movement has posed for solution are insoluble in the framework of the cold war. They require drastic changes in foreign policy. They call for a rejection of the concept of the so-called 'American Century'. They underscore the need for a policy which will recognize that this is the 'century of the common man' at home and abroad.

Heretofore many of the civil rights demands could be met without disturbing many elements of foreign policy. In fact, concessions granted in this direction could be and were used as a cover for expansionist policies abroad. But when problems are put which will require the outlay of tens of billions of dollars, such appropriations can come only at the expense of the huge cost of the war establishment.

A. Phillip Randolph, veteran Negro labour and civil rights leader, at a recent White House conference, called for a programme of a hundred billion dollars, spread out over a period of ten years, to meet the problems of poverty in the Negro community. This amount represents only a fraction of what has been spent for cold war purposes. This year it

cost sixty billion dollars. Proposals such as Randolph's are what is needed. But unless such proposals are accompanied by practical activity to promote a peace policy for an end to the cold war, they too become idle dreams and chatter for the 'learned'.

VIBRANT PEACE MOVEMENT

Dr. King's proposals in Chicago to eliminate slums and slumism also go to the very heart of the cold war. These objectives which will require huge expenditures by the Federal, State and local governments will not be forthcoming without a new foreign policy. Dr. King, his movement and many of his followers seem to understand this contradictory situation and are increasingly arraying their forces alongside the growing and vibrant peace movement in the United States. Thus, the civil rights movement is now raising demands which will help expand the forces for peace and thereby create the conditions for changing America away from the cold war. Historians may yet record that the civil rights forces were a major factor which saved America from extermination through a series of bloody wars and its demise as a nation of greatness.

The imperialist ruling circles of our country are aware of the potential of a link-up with the civil rights struggles and the fight for peace.

They, too, realize perhaps more than others that the programme they had going for them has come to an end. Token recognition to some Negroes as a weapon in the cold war, goes out of the window as situations like Watts continue to explode in their faces.

That is why they react with such violence to every utterance by a Negro leader on the war in South Vietnam. During the Korean War the Communists were the first target of the war hysteria. Smith Act persecutions and McCarthyite witchhunts all were designed to create conformity, to silence any and all opposition to the cold war and the hot war. Today Negro leaders have become the prime targets.

Several months ago, Dr. Martin Luther King began to speak out for peace. In so doing he changed the pattern where Negro leaders, while pursuing civil rights goals, refused to challenge American foreign policy. In fact, many of them sought to use the cold war as a bargaining point. They placed themselves as faithful lackeys, to the predatory whims of U.S. imperialism. And this for token recognition of individuals.

The new position of Dr. King evoked the wrath of the whole power structure, including some so-called Liberals, like Senator Javits, and phoney civil rights leaders like Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the N.A.A.C.P. In essence, Dr. King was told that to speak out on matters of foreign policy was harmful to civil rights. The attack against King

was followed by the removal of young Julian Bond from the Georgia Legislature and the most vicious attacks on Cassius Clay, world heavyweight boxing champion. All of these vicious assaults will come to nought because, as we have shown, the new demands of the civil rights movement are not realizable within the framework of the cold war.

Inside the United States—2

Apartheid Colonialism in America

Siginqi kaNelani

THE TERM FREEDOM, as all Marxists know, is a class term whose meaning can be understood only within the framework of a complexity of productive relations. 'Freedom' is thus a class question. In approaching the question of Negro Liberation in the United States this should not be lost sight of. Being a class question freedom means different things for different classes—in point of fact in capitalist society freedom for one class (the capitalists) implies bondage for all other classes.

AMERICA'S BLACK COLONY

It is one of the oldest superstitions of the American scene that the Negro community is one non-differentiated mass—the myth of the abstract collective 'native' U.S. style. It will be part of our duty in this paper to destroy this myth. All the major class divisions found in the United States are found in the Negro community. These are briefly: bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, small farmers and working class.

THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE

This is a very small group numbering about five thousand families (as against over 408 thousand among whites). They are variously occupied in banking, financing and as large entrepreneurs. The smaller bourgeoisie numbering around thirty-four thousand families (2,601 thousand among whites) are variously engaged in manufacturing, transport, service industry such as catering, etc. The Negro bourgeois class is confined to the ghetto as a general rule. (In certain cities such as New York they have managed to break out and may be found in areas such as Queens and certain parts of Long Island.) It is the poorest sector of the U.S. capitalist class both because it came on to the scene late and because of discriminatory practices that stunted its growth. As a class they are dependent on the ghetto both as a market for their products and as a source of labour.

THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

A much larger class than the bourgeois class proper. Its numbers run well into hundreds of thousands. The largest single occupation group in the class are teachers followed by small shopkeepers, preachers and

artists. There is also a miscellaneous group of skilled technicians, social workers etc. Like the bourgeois class they are ghetto-confined. Negro doctors treat Negro patients, Negro teachers teach Negro students and of course Negro preachers have all black parishes.

Because of their confinement to the ghetto, both the bourgeois class and the petty bourgeoisie have to live off the crumbs left over after the dominant white controlled capitalist establishment has despoiled the Negro masses. This makes them dependent upon the white establishment but on the other hand is also the basic cause of conflict between the two groups. They are dependent upon the white establishment first for the privilege to be exploiters in a field which the white capitalists could easily monopolise and furthermore are dependent upon it for the defence of their economic power by the capitalist state. On the other hand there is a constant fear on the part of the black bourgeois class, a fear of being displaced by white capital. We shall discuss this more fully below. However, in spite of their conflicts with white capital, the Black bourgeois class shares common class interests with the white establishment, i.e. the exploitation of labour.

THE NEGRO MASSES

Seventy per cent of the Negro population is working class—including proletarians (workers who produce surplus value), general wage earners and tenant farmers and sharecroppers. This is the most exploited section of the American working class, suffering the lowest paid jobs, the least security and the highest rate of unemployment. (*At present twice as high as whites.*) In spite of all the laws and constitutional guarantees the old adage 'last hired and first fired' still applies to Negroes. Few of us ever examine the meaning of the adage in reality. It means that the Negro working class serves as a buffer between the stability and collapse of U.S. capitalism. This we shall discuss at length in subsequent paragraphs. Both in industry and agriculture we can note the displacement of Negro labour. In the South, which has for years been dependent on cheap black labour the trend has been most vicious. Negro tenants and sharecroppers have been displaced by machinery and are reduced to seasonal workers or migrants. Since 1957 the demand for agricultural labour in the South dropped by 48 per cent. Many people displaced by this have moved to the cities.

THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Nationalism among the Negro people first appeared in religion. This took the form of the appearance of Negro separatist churches such as the A.M.E. This was primarily an effort on the part of Negroes to assert themselves and break away from white controlled churches in which

they were forced into an inferior status. The Muslims were the most extreme expression of this and carried it as far as the rejection of Christianity itself as a white man's religion. Harlem abounds with other examples of such rejection of white control and Christianity. There has been a Negro Jewish community in that ghetto since the turn of the century. It identifies strongly with Ethiopian Jews and many of its leading members have Falasha names.

There are two major currents in the Negro liberation movement. One for complete intergration into the fabric of American life and the opposite tendency for separation and Negro independence. There are other less important tendencies in between these which we shall touch on.

THE SEPARATIST NATIONALISTS

Separatism has been a major force in Negro politics since the Garvey movement swept the country in the twenties. On the whole it is fragmented, and was until the rise of the Muslims a small insignificant tendency centred in the northern ghettoes, especially Harlem. In Harlem alone there are at present some twenty odd Nationalist-separatist factions ranging from outright back-to-Africa to protagonists of a southern Black state south of the Mason-Dixon line. Their failure was the result of the utopian dreams of a return to Africa and the futile rivalry that divides them. It was not until Elijah Muhamad's Black Muslim movement appeared that a viable Separatist movement became conceivable.

The meteoric rise of the Muslims from a small cult in Chicago to a national movement was indicative of two major features of the post-Korean War period. First, the cause of Negro nationalism in general —the profound alienation of the Negro from the mainstream of American life, secondly the mounting antagonism between the white establishment and the ghetto-bound Negro bourgeoisie. For as Lightfoot so aptly put it:

> the bourgeoisie in an oppressed nation teaches nationalism in order to create a condition where it can have complete control over its own national market. (*Political Affairs*, July 1962.)

The Muslim movement was heralded by numerous nationalistic tendencies in the ghetto capitalists. The fear of displacement produced the 'buy black' movements in the north. The Negro capitalists were, through these, demanding the sole right to exploit Negro labour. Besides this the Negro teacher, doctor, insurance company etc. plagued by poor training in segregated schools, the lack of capital and more powerful white competitors all had a stake in the maintenance of a separate Negro community. If the Negro would just buy black, bank

black etc. this would keep 'whitey' out. Freedom from 'whitey' in their case meant freedom from 'whitey' to exploit Negroes. The ghetto had thus long been prepared for a dynamic leadership to move in. The Muslims drew all the threads of Black separatism together into one movement, the religious and the political. Their programme at the height of their influence was for an independent black state with complete independence from the U.S. except for an indemnity to the tune of five billion dollars for the unrequited labour of the Negroes during slavery.

The Muslims have since declined in influence. This can be accounted for in two ways. First, the extreme chauvinism of the Muslims, while a strong emotional appeal, was no substitute for a programme of action. The Muslim platform was unrealistic enough but they projected no means even to achieve it. There is still a millennialist ring in all the preachings and writings of the Muslims. Negroes have had too many sharp historical lessons to be taken in by such mysticism. Secondly, the internal structure of the movement itself hampered rather than fostered growth. The splits and rivalries that now abound in it and the loss of that most dynamic spokesman Malcolm X have taken their toll.

Other nationalist-separatist groups are more political. The Garveyist group is now not very effective and its activity is confined to circulation of books and occasional street corner meetings. The separatist groups can in general be criticized in the same terms as the Muslims.

THE INTEGRATIONIST MOVEMENT

In this category we may include the N.A.A.C.P., C.O.R.E., S.C.L.C. and the Urban League. The leadership of these groups is, almost to a man, drawn from the black bourgeoisie. This has coloured the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League with a conservatism that matches that of their white counterparts. In response to the restrictions of Jim Crow, which stunt the full blossoming of the black capitalist class, a strong current for lebensraum in the green pastures of the imperialist heartland has long been in existence. Recognizing their dependence upon the white establishment on the one hand, and the enormous wealth of the U.S. on the other, the elements that lead these groups demand slices of the pie instead of the crumbs they have had to subsist on to date. As a weapon to win these demands they use the Negro masses. They demand the plums of state office, the right to compete with whites in their own fields etc. (While it is true that many whites hold posts in Negro colleges, predominantly Negro hospitals and institutions; very few Negroes hold posts in predominantly white institutions.) The ideology of this group is also interesting to note—it differs from that of the

white establishment only in that it rejects Jim Crow. A national nihilism characterizes most of their attitudes. This denial of the Negro as a national group in fact is grist for the mills of white chauvinism and racialism and is in large degree accounted for by the 'would-be-white' values of the black bourgeoisie.

Within C.O.R.E. and S.C.L.C. we can note healthy tendencies toward a reappraisal of Negro nationalism and a reorientation towards issues affecting the ghetto directly. This is a progressive step forward from the tactics based mainly on courtroom actions that have been the practice of the N.A.A.C.P., and the Urban League. Both groups, however, are seeking for solutions within the ambit of U.S. monopoly capitalism. They see Negro freedom strictly in bourgeois terms.

Unlike the Separatist-Nationalists the integrationist leaders do organize and mobilize masses for action. This is a virtue that should not be minimized—this is an area in which the Negro masses can achieve some changes. There is a common meeting ground for all-class unity among Negroes—the common oppression of Jim Crow. This community of suffering should, however, not be over-emphasized to cloud genuine class antagonisms among Negroes. While there are advantages to be had by the black bourgeoisie in the system of segregation, there are none at all for the Negro working class.

INTEGRATION v. NATIONALISM

While it may be said that the relationship between the dominant white American establishment and the Negro is a colonial one, we have to recognize that this is not a 'pure' colonialism. In point of fact there are no 'pure' phenomena in general and no 'pure' social movements in particular. The colonialism of the U.S. has been conditioned and determined by the actual socio-economic realities of this country. There are three basically colonial features in the Negro condition: the super-exploitation of Negroes as a national group, the relegation of Negro culture, history to second class status if not total denial, and the imposition of the values and standards of the dominant group upon the oppressed group. Because of this the response to Jim Crow is at times typical of a colonial situation.

The gap between black nationalism and integration when seen in the light of the colonial features of Negro oppression is not merely a tactical one. The difference springs from a conception of American society and the Negro people within that society. To the national nihilist leaders the term integration implies assimilation and a general dispersal of the Negro within the general U.S. society. The implied inequality in the term 'assimilation' does not strike them. The nationalist by his insistence upon equality and integration by choice (which also implies

separation by choice) goes to the root of the problem—that Jim Crow has in fact sought to destroy the Negro personality (for lack of a better term). One nationalist expressed this mood well by declaring 'Brother (James) Farmer, we've gotta dig being black'. This alone causes the nationalist to seek beyond the facade and rhetoric of liberal America for a solution to the problem.

RADICAL NATIONALISM AND 'NEW LEFTISM'

As in all colonial movements the Negro liberation movement has its radical wing. This consists of the nationalist groups (N.B. differentiate from separatist-nationalist) among whom can be counted R.A.M., the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the Advanced Leadership conference and various literary groups such as Black Arts. Besides the nationalist groups there are the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee and smaller student groups which constitute what has become know as the 'new left'. (It is neither new nor very left.) Judging from the membership of these groups, they have drawn in the most creative and visonary sections of American youth. The youth who march on the picket line, are jailed and beaten are the ones who will be tomorrow's writers, musicians and painters. These are the youth who question and are seeking a re-evaluation of the values of their society. They see the necessity for a thorough going social revolution to put an end to the system of cant and hypocrisy that the U.S. is today. The 'new leftist' and the nationalist both see the root of Negro servitude as economic exploitation and hence direct their efforts at this. To this end S.N.C.C. organized a Summer project in the South in order to create trade unions where there were none, set up popular political parties to challenge the farce of a Democratic Tweedledum and a Republican Tweedledee. Other groups have set about organizing the poor, the unemployed and unemployable youth.

However, the 'new left' and the nationalist suffer from a bad case of petty-bourgeois revolutionism. The membership of both groups are either students or recent college graduates. There are few or no workers involved in either group. The ultra-left antics and romantic 'cult of the sharecropper' are manifestations of this. These will, however, disappear with contact between themselves and Marxist-Leninists. The most healthy attitude at present would be to work together and to be open-minded and non-sectarian.

WHERE FROM JIM CROW?

> The system of discrimination and segregation against Negro Americans is imbedded in the very fabric of U.S. capitalism. It has been and is the policy of every major corporation in America. Jim Crow is the creation of big business. (Gus Hall, *Negro Liberation*, 1964.)

The Negro has been the greatest victim of capitalist despoliation in America. Brought originally as a chattel slave to America for the purpose of capital accumulation in both north and south, he has since been dogged and hounded by exploitation. From the slave trade massive fortunes were accumulated in both Liverpool and the New England states. From the unremitted labour of the slaves 'king cotton' created the southern latifundi. The aberration of slavery was no accident. It grew out of the economic necessities of the early United States. The Civil War was merely intended to extend the laws and operation of the free market to the south without basically changing the productive relations. This was formalized in the infamous 1876 agreement in terms of which the south was to be allowed to go along its merry path while the north looked on. This was to continue only on condition that the south played ball according to northern rules, i.e. no return to slavery and one union of American states. Through discriminatory legislation and peonage of sharecropping the Negro in the south has been kept in a position of super-exploitation. In the northern cities he is reduced to the most menial and lowest paying jobs. Hence for black America a mere recession is a depression. All crises of American imperialism are met by using the black colony to absorb them.

With the contraction of the imperialist world the counterfeit note of bourgeois 'liberty and justice for all' is bouncing. American monopoly capitalism has no place for the Negro American—except 'in his place'.

THE ROLE OF MARXISTS IN THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Marxists have always played an important role in the Negro movement though this role will at times be denied or ignored. From the earliest days American radicals and revolutionaries have taken a keen interest in the cause of Negro freedom, both before and after the Civil War. We can name amongst these men like the abolitionist Garrison in the pre-Civil War days, and numerous labour militants such as William Z. Foster who was a founding member of the Communist Party U.S.A.

However, it would be ridiculous to suggest that American Marxists have a common programme for Negro freedom. Indeed many differences exist among them on both questions of tactics and strategy. We shall deal with the major Marxist tendencies in this paper and have for convenience divided these into Communist, Trotskyist and the neo-Marxian school typified by the journal *Studies on the Left*. We shall discuss them in reverse order.

It was not till the October Revolution and the rich experience of that revolution and the Bolshevik Party had become part of the ideo-

logical arsenal the international working class movement, that the American left gained any sort of revolutionary perspective on the Negro question. In pre-October days the general line of the American left was one that ignored the national aspects of the Negro question, treating it in very general terms as merely one of the products of capitalist exploitation. It was the work of Lenin and Stalin on the national and colonial question that showed the way to the American left on this matter.

THE NEO-MARXISTS

This is a rather loose and as yet unorganized tendency on the left but has to date played a major role both as analysts and as participants in the Negro movement. We chose *Studies on the Left* as the best example of this tendency mainly because it is the most vocal representative of the tendency.

The neo-Marxists are by far the least consistent on any major question: Vacillating between ultra-leftism and downright liberalism (always disguised in left sounding rhetoric of course). The general analysis does, however, recognize the economic sources of racialism in the U.S. The problem is about programme. Here we have a hodge-podge ranging from such concepts as a Nationalism to the idealistic romanticism of 'participatory democracy'. (Another example of American gimmickery this. The term embraces a multitude of ideas. Basically it springs from the notion that the American system has reduced democracy to an empty meaningless term because it effectively denies the citizen any participation in shaping the decisions of the day. 'Participatory democracy' is the great panacea that will cure all this by bringing people back into politics. Typical of this group is an over-emphasis of the import of the revolutionary potential of the Negro working class. In fact many of them have abandoned the working class in general as reactionary and conservative. When not saying this they go as far as to deny its very existence using as evidence the apologist sociology of the prostitute academics.)

> Due to his semi-dependent status the American Negro is *the only* potentially revolutionary force in the U.S. today. . . . If the white working class is ever to move in the direction of demanding structural changes in society, it will be the Negro who will furnish the initial force. (Harold Cruse, 'Revolutionary Nationalism', *Studies on the Left*, Vol. 2, No. 3.)

Like the 'new left', with which it identifies strongly, the neo-Marxist tendency is petty-bourgeois in composition and ideology. They see the Negro people as a monolithic classless mass whose members are all concerned with revolution and socialism. Coupled with this is the

typical petty bourgeois condescension that fears the people are always going to be betrayed by false leaders.

As could be expected, they share with many of their class a fear for the discipline of a party. One of the leading members of this tendency and incidentally one of the editors of *Studies* has created a whole mythology charging Leninist organizational concepts with guilt for every reverse the American left has suffered. (James Weinstein, *Monthly Review*, May 1963.) The neo-Marxists have no perspective for the Negro liberation movement other than local projects aimed at the unemployed, the poor and the disinherited. Not that there is anything wrong with this *per se* but to substitute this for the organization of a proletarian party is anything but Marxism. Having rejected the notion of a vanguard party (indeed *Studies* feels that this—a Marxist party—is not feasible or advisable in the American context) the neo-Marxist has to resort to spontaneity in areas of struggle.

THE TROTSKYISTS: 'PRINCIPLED OPPORTUNISM'

The Trotskyist tendency is represented by a million of little factions. In fairness to them we shall confine our remarks to the Socialist Workers' Party which is the single largest group. Like the neo-Marxists they over-emphasize the potential of the Negro people:

> What I am talking about is the capacity of the Negro people to lead the working class revolution to replace capitalism with socialism. (George Breitman, *International Socialist Review*, Spring 1964.)

and have in effect adopted a policy of bowing to spontaneity on the Negro question. This is evidenced by the lack of programme on the Negro question and their shift in the space of two years from support of the Black Muslims in 1963, support of the idea of a Freedom Now Party in the latter part of the same year and finally uncritical support of Malcolm X after his break with the Muslims. As is usual they disdain the other tendencies within the Negro liberation movement while they have no programme of action themselves.

Perhaps the gravest error of the American Trotskyists is the parallel they draw between the Bolshevik Party in 1917 and the position of the Negro people in the United States.

> To grasp this idea we must rid our minds of the conception that any social revolution in general or any working class revolution in particular has to be led by a majority. I will try to illustrate this by going back to the first victorious workers' revolution, the Russian revolution of 1917. It was victorious because it had the support of a majority of the Russian people. . . . It was a revolution supported by the majority, and it could not have succeeded without that majority support, but it was led by a party that represented a class that was a minority of the country. (George Breitman, *op cit.*, I.S.R., Spring 1964.)

This parallel loses sight of two important aspects of the Negro movement. First that it is not a homogeneous movement and does not represent a homogeneous group. There are as many class differences in the Negro population as there are in any other national group in the country. As such the Negro people cannot play the hegemonic role the Russian proletariat was able to play in the Revolution of 1917. Secondly, that the question of social revolution within the Negro liberation movement will not arise fully developed, like Pallas Athena from the head of Zeus, but has to be developed out of the struggles of the Negro people and above all, Marxists need a programme to achieve this intermediate goal first. The first need to be fulfilled is therefore an abandonment of sectarian criticism from the sidelines and active engagement in the struggles themselves.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The role of the Communists in the struggle for Negro liberation is an old and glorious one, a role that Communists the world over can take fraternal pride in. However, because of the semi-legal status that the U.S. Communist Party has been forced into by the McCarran Act and other totalitarian laws, this role is not publicly known. The C.P. was the pioneer in developing a revolutionary perspective on the Negro question. This took the form of an abandonment of the Social Democratic rhetoric which had characterized even the most revolutionary pre-1917 groups and an examination of the particularities that made the Negro question unique. Many may today sneer at the position the Party adopted on Negro self-determination as having been infantile and dogmatic. Nonetheless this was a major shift from previous positions and laid the basis for subsequent analyses and a recognition of the national characteristics of the fight for Negro equality. The role the Communists played in the struggle is recognized by even the most conservative elements in the Negro community.

> At mass meetings in Harlem, on the street corners of Chicago, San Francisco, Detroit and other urban centres all over the nation, spell-binders like Ford, Moore and Patterson loomed into prominence under the flying banners of the Negro Congress and the International Workers Alliance. (*Afro-American*, June 29th, 1957.)

When the history of the American working class movement is finally written the names of men like Ben Davis, Henry Winston and Perry will feature prominently for the role they played both as working class leaders and leaders of their people.

The C.P. revised its programme on the Negro question in 1954. As it now stands it is the most lucid and practical programme, for the times. We shall attempt to render its main thrust. The position of the C.P.

is informed by the recognition of the uniformity with which Jim Crow affects Negroes of all classes. Because of this the Negro liberation movement has an all-class character. This does cloud the basic class antagonisms that exist in the Negro community, but for the current struggle for equality such a tactical unity is imperative. Secondly it is informed by the context in which the movement exists—i.e. the imperialist United States. Objectively regarded the Negro liberation movement is therefore part of the proletarian revolutionary struggle.

While it is necessary to stress the maximum tactical unity of the Negro people against Jim Crow, the Party understands that such unity must ultimately be under the hegemony of the proletariat. To this end it is the duty of Marxists, Communists in particular, to strive for unity within the Negro movement and at the same time to hasten the day when the objective reality will become subjectively true—that is the recognition on the part of the Negro liberation movement of its role in the struggle for socialism. The most important aspect of this is the struggle for unity with the labour movement. Unlike the neo-Marxian school, the Party does not consider the working class to be a disappearing class. In fact all indications are that it is a growing class. Unity between labour and the Negro people is therefore not only necessary but essential for the final goal—a Socialist America.

The Afro-American people have a fine tradition of struggle for freedom. From the very first shipload of slaves that arrived on the American shores to the present, they have fought ceaselessly for freedom and equality. This is evidenced in their folklore, their music and their daily lives. We Africans can take pride in this struggle and have to give it all the aid we can. With courage and determination and the revolutionary solidarity of all freedom loving peoples we can look forward to that great day when true freedom and equality shall be the order from Maine to California.

We shall overcome.

MOZAMBIQUE, MY COUNTRY

URIAH SIMANGO

MOZAMBIQUE, MY COUNTRY, Angola, the so-called Portuguese Guinea and Cap Verde and S. Tome and Principe, are all territories under Portuguese colonialism. These countries have been under the yoke of colonialism for more than four centuries. This long period of foreign domination has its own unique consequences. These countries were occupied by the might of the sword. The inhabitants of these countries opposed occupation with their blood. The resistance to foreign domination never ceased from that period. Apart from killing our people, thousands were sold as slaves to the 'civilized' world, where in the United States of America the black people are still fighting for more equality in the country where all are foreigners. The Portuguese claim that they are in Africa to civilize the savages and Christianize the heathens and due to this state of affairs, they, say, it was necessary to tame them by force.

History tells the truth and it is this empirical knowledge that must bring all facts together. This experience has taught us that the motive for the scramble for Africa was one of economics. Against this truth nobody can argue. The 1885 Berlin Conference legalised, divided and established artificial boundaries and thus authorized each one in his share to milk the cows in his paddock until they bled. The shares did not please those powers that sat in Berlin to divide Africa. Contradictions became sharper and sharper amongst themselves and they led to wars which devastated the whole world, though Africa and Asia had nothing to do with those contradictions. This race of wealth accumulation—capitalism—led to the maximum exploitation of our people, leaving them in extreme poverty.

Over 80 per cent of the population in these territories are peasants. By imposed circumstances they are forced to remain as such. They are forced to grow certain types of crops and the whole harvest must be sold to the Government at a fixed price. Take cotton, which is the most

enforced agricultural produce in Mozambique. What Mozambique has seen is that in the areas where these plants are grown on a large scale by Government order, those people are victims of hunger and starvation every year.

The few workers, mostly in cities, go through untold difficulties. They have families to look after and house rents to pay for. £6 per month is the average pay and on this they must live. This must also be for payment of school fees for children and bus fare to and from work. Those found unemployed in towns or in the country are arrested as vagrants and sold to companies or individuals who need workers or go for road building and other Government projects. They cannot refuse to go, whether they like it or not. During their term of service they are not paid until they get back to their local government administrative offices, after six or twelve months. The Government Officer has first to deduct the annual tax, each one of them usually remaining with £5 to £9 if it is six months, as the case may be. This practice began from the dawn of the Portuguese colonialism.

SOLD TO S.A. MINES

The nearby territories of Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia) and South Africa take advantage of this Portuguese practice to acquire as many labourers as they wish to work on their farms and in the mines.

In 1928 Portugal and South Africa signed an agreement by which Portugal would supply 100,000 workers annually to work in the gold mines and South Africa in return would import and export a fraction of its commodities through the port of Lourenco Marques. This convention was renewed in 1934 and 1952. The recruitment is done by the Portuguese authorities and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.). Another form of recruitment is carried out among the population of Mozambique and Angola by the Native Recruiting Corporation of South Africa. These labourers are supposed to work in South Africa for a minimum period of twelve months. During this period the largest part of their salaries is banked in South Africa.

For each person of the 100,000 of the agreement, and for thousands of others, Portugal gets £2 10s. cash and the interest on the banked money of the labourers goes to Portugal's coffers, for what reason nobody knows. The money for those who die in accidents in the mines, paid as indemnity, does not reach the parents of the deceased.

This scandal, immorality and corruption, cannot be forgotten in the history of the Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. This exploitation is shared with those who own those mines. This is what we call naked

robbery. The many contradictions and conflicts are caused by this parasitism of the colonialist and imperialist powers who know no justice.

Colonialism and imperialism means maintaining the colonized people under darkness so as to exploit their labour all round. The illiteracy in Mozambique is fabulous. In 1940 a concordat was signed between the Holy See and Portugal, which placed African education under the Roman Catholic Church. The Government washed its hands and forgot completely the education problem of millions of the black population. This negligence was purposely in order to maintain the slave condition that still prevails in the Portuguese colonies and to perpetuate colonial rule. Because of these wilful reasons the illiteracy percentage is in the region of 98 per cent.

The health situation is also alarming. In all the Portuguese colonies in Africa in 1963 there were 613 physicians (doctors). Mozambique had the smallest number. It must be remembered that the largest number of these doctors live in towns. And this means that the largest section of the population—black—does not have the minimum medical assistance. These people, in the same year, paid over £7,500,000 in taxes which would cover the expenditure on education and health services, but only 1 per cent of it was used for these projects.

The few secondary schools that exist in the cities are so expensive that the parents cannot afford them. The commercialisation of education has left our country comparatively far behind the many neighbouring territories.

All these strategical and tactical methods to maintain colonialism, imperialism, have been accompanied by the rule of the iron, fascist, nazi-type government under Dr. Salazar, enforced by the PIDE, which has been in power for thirty years. Arbitrary arrests and tortures of those men of sophisticated thinking and expression are day to day practices. This dictatorship went to an extent of decreeing in 1951, and it enacted a clause in the constitution to that effect, that the colonies (Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, etc.) were overseas provinces, part and parcel of Portugal. This was to legalize the occupation of our countries which cannot be legalized by a stroke of a pen. Our people resisted this from the day of occupation and will continue to resist until freedom is achieved.

Despite all repressive measures, our people grew in conscious understanding of reality. The people of Guinea, Angola, Mozambique began organizing themselves under the banner of social organization. The impatience could not allow them to continue in this manner and political organizations took over. It is illegal to run a political organization

and a crime to become a politician or politically minded. In order to work you have either to go underground or leave the country in order to work freely if you happen to have the chance. In fact, the deprivation of freedom of expression, political gathering did not hinder the progress of political maturity of those politically inclined people.

WARS OF LIBERATION

Repressions, natural bans on political organizations, declaration of the 1951 decree incorporating the colonies as provinces, led to the frustration of those who were waiting for an opportunity to organize themselves legally for freedom and independence. The Portuguese dictatorial regime became more and more ruthless. Prisons and tortures became frequent in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. This roused an endless anger. In these circumstances the people were obliged to organize a military force to oppose these measures and vindicate their right in the country of their birth where they are denied the minimum freedom. In February 1961 the Angola Liberation war started. The so-called Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique are also at war for independence. P.A.I.G.C. has already liberated two-thirds of Guinea, M.P.L.A. is now at the front leading the war in Angola. F.R.E.L.I.M.O. is the vanguard of the Mozambique people in their armed struggle for freedom and independence.

This has alarmed the Portuguese at home and all supporters of Portugal. Portugal is a small and underdeveloped country, too economically weak to stand these wars. The friends of Portugal are committed under the NATO alliance. Portugal is their market and they have big investments in Portugal and in the colonies. Because of this they are bound to help Portugal maintain its claws of domination. The economy of Portugal, both at home and overseas, being controlled by big brothers, Portugal has no alternative but to act to safeguard the interest of the foreign financiers. The following are a few of the many that exploit Mozambique, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, S. Tome and Principe:

Societe Miniere et Geologique du Zambeze (Belgian)
American Meta Climax Inc.
Empresa Mineira de Alto Ligonha (American and Portuguese)
Wankie Colliery Co. Ltd. (Rhodesia)
Central Mining Company of Johannesburg
Union Miniere du Haut Katanga
Mozambique Gulf Oil Co. (American)
Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa
Minerais Basicas de Mocambique (British, S. African and Portuguese)

Rhodesian Anglo-American
Companhia des Diamantes de Angola

This last company whose nominal capital amounts to £3,587,000, in 1962 announced a total profit of £3,111,000, making a net profit of £903,000 after distributing dividends amounting to £1,745,000. This is an example of the fabulous gains made by foreign big powers with a capacity to export capital. These companies keep Portugal alive and are therefore the masters of policy.

West Germany is becoming one of the biggest partners in the exploitation. Krupp invested more than £12,500,000 in iron mines of BIO (Angola).

Fifty per cent of Portugal's imports of machinery, vehicles, tools, come from West Germany. The West German investments in Portugal and in the colonies are increasing.

NATO ARMS

This great increase of foreign capital in our countries, which Portugal declared provinces, is terrifying and causing great concern. Apart from the NATO alliance obligations some Western countries support Portugal so that she may perpetuate her domination in Africa in order to exploit together the wealth, the original motive for partitioning Africa. The United States of America and West Germany remain the biggest suppliers of arms and money to Portugal. Apart from light weapons and machine guns that West Germany sold to Portugal, she bought sixty war planes from Canada which were given to Dr. Salazar. Last month the *Daily Express* reported a recent sale of forty supersonic bombers to Portugal by West Germany. Portugal at the same time announced that they were going to be used in Angola against the nationalists. The military collaboration amongst the imperialists against our people is becoming more and more open.

Since 1960 the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia have been collaborating with Dr. Salazar directly. Mozambique people working in those territories live in fear of being arrested and deported. What is happening at the moment in Swaziland and South Africa is fantastic. Refugees from Mozambique are being deported in dozens. The British Government is guilty of co-operation in this dirty business. According to our information it is done with the connivance of Swaziland, South African and Portuguese police (PIDE). This therefore does not exempt Britain. This collaboration has gone very far indeed. Portugal is recruiting South African soldiers who are stationed in Tete, a province with boundaries with Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia. They are said to be farmers but our findings tell us that they are soldiers, placed in a strategic province from where within a day, or hours, they can be

fighting in any of three surrounding territories if that becomes necessary. This is a very serious matter. New discussions are going on on what to do when F.R.E.L.I.M.O. reaches the southern part of Mozambique.

BRITAIN'S ROLE

A white zone in southern Africa. This is the dream of Salazar, Verwoerd and Smith, supported by some reactionary and imperialist forces. Britain is responsible for the situation in Rhodesia and if no solution is found within two months, until the end of April, Britain will see blood flowing and irrigating the soil of Zimbabwe so that freedom and independence should germinate. The chaotic situation of South Africa was nurtured by Britain. If it is the indigenous people who take power, Britain makes no hesitation to quell the rebellion by the sword, splashing blood. This is another challenge to Britain. We, the people of Southern Africa, are in danger because of this British policy. Our lives are threatened, even our own existence.

The British Government has declared a policy, that 'whenever the interests of the indigenous people (majority) clashed with those of the immigrants (minority) the interests of the indigenous people must prevail.' This policy is abandoned for it is the interests of the immigrants (minority) that is prevailing these days.

It was for no other reason but opposing this white supremacy that the people of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique rose up with arms to fight for their freedom and National Independence. Were it not for those countries that are supporting Portugal, Salazar would have long surrendered. A report on the financial situation (General Accounts) of the State for 1963 announced that Mozambique had a deficit of £12,990,000 in its balance of trade each year. This is sufficient to indicate that if U.S.A., Britain, France, Belgium, West Germany stop forthwith giving loans and investing in Portugal and in the colonies, Portugal would immediately enter negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the conflict—the independence question. These powers, which are friendly to Portugal must advise her to come to reason; it is never too late to mend.

These unjust and imperialist wars have led over 20,000 Mozambicans to leave their country and they are now found in Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland. These people abandoned everything because the Portuguese soldiers are killing and bombing villages indiscriminately with NATO-supplied arms. Now they have no houses, neither any facility of life: food, clothing, medical assistance, save those who are in Tanzania. The situation is lamentable. These people are suffering but not because of their fault, this is what is meant by colonialism, imperialism and the civilisation that Dr. Salazar boasts about.

The people of Britain, the whole of Europe, Soviet Union, U.S.A. know what it is to be dominated. The four big powers, France, Soviet Union, Britain, U.S.A. formed a block in an alliance during the second World War in order to resist and defeat Hitler who had swept all the small countries in Europe including France and subjugated them. Hitler had decided to rule the world but was forced to kneel by the Soviet Union. This second World War is still vivid in our memories. The whole of Europe resisted as a bloc to defend their land, families, democracy, freedom and independence. We are convinced that our war is just, we are defending justice, democracy and freedom in this century, and history will record this phenomenon.

MOZAMBIQUE WILL BE FREE

Since Lord Kilbracken reported last October about his visit to Mozambique, more areas have been liberated. The guerrilla units have increased. The confinement of the Portuguese troops in military posts (barracks) is being tightened. The provisioning by planes is being extended to other areas. More and more the Portuguese soldiers are becoming desperate. It is the people's war. It is a liberation war. It emanates from the people. It cannot be defeated. The people have encouraging victories. About 2,000 Portuguese soldiers have already been killed. Many military trucks have been destroyed and some ten planes downed, suffering destruction with an exception of one. These victories continue to be achieved. The people of Angola and Guinea (Bissau) are marching forward to liberate their countries.

The people of the Portuguese colonies will maintain their vigilance and will never vacillate but strive on to finish the work they are in; they will not lay down their arms until Portugal has agreed to enter negotiations and to grant independence. This is the only condition for peaceful coexistence with Portugal.

Algeria: Behind the Silence

Henri Alleg

ALGERIA, FOR THE time being, no longer makes headlines in the world's press, and in the country itself the enthusiasm, the tumultuous crowds and joyous days of 'voluntary socialist work' have been replaced by an ominous silence. What does this silence hide? Is it the 'seriousness and efficiency' promised by Colonel Boumedienne after the coup d'état, allegedly to replace the 'opportunism and publicity socialism' of the Ben Bella administration? Or, on the contrary, is it stagnation and the refusal of the masses to identify themselves with a movement which from the start had placed all their previous revolutionary achievements in question?

Today the new team seems solidly installed in power. They have struck serious blows at the Organization of Popular Resistance by arresting a number of its leaders. By police methods and other pressures they have subdued public opposition in the F.L.N. and other mass organizations. They have also reinforced their control of national and regional administrations and eliminated 'Ben Bellist elements'. Whilst consolidating its power in this way, the 'Council of the Revolution' has continued to restate its fidelity to socialism, its sole aim, so it says, being to 'correct the deviations introduced by "personal power" ' (meaning the presidency of Ben Bella).

It will be useful to draw up a balance sheet to see how the declarations and promises of the new regime have been fulfilled in practice.

On June 19th, 1965, Colonel Boumedienne drew up the list of accusations against Ben Bella's administration and also stated the aims of the new team which would 'work to bring about a democratic state administered by laws based on moral principles . . . substitute honesty for the love of luxury, hard work for improvisation, State morality for impulsive reactions—in other words, Socialism in conformity with the realities of the country, as opposed to Socialism of opportunism and loud publicity.'

No reference was made to the 'Charter of Algiers', nor to nationalisation and the carrying out of land reform which had just been approved by the Central Committee of the F.L.N. These omissions confirmed the rightist tendency of the coup d'etat which had been immediately welcomed by the most retrograde forces in the country—large landowners fearing land reform; rich traders anxious to increase their

personal wealth from assets acquired more or less legally after the exodus of Europeans; counter-revolutionaries camouflaged under the very convenient banner of the 'Al-Qiyam' organization (nominally 'for the defence of Islamic principles') or the 'Oulemas' (whose late president, Sheikh Brahimi, had condemned socialism as contrary to Islam). The wave of hysterical anti-communism which was launched soon afterwards, further emphasised the reactionary tendencies which came to life with the coup.

After the first few days, during which the forces most hostile to socialism had demonstrated rather imprudently in a sort of counter-revolutionary festival, one had to come back to realities. First of all, it was evident that the Algerian masses, particularly the workers, would not follow along this path. They had been caught off balance by the failure of the F.L.N. to resist the coup, and also by the demagogy of the 'Council of the Revolution' denouncing certain real weaknesses of the Ben Bella Government. But they were not ready to give up without a struggle the real achievements of the revolution.

Another practical problem very quickly emerged, which was revealed within the Council of the Revolution itself as well as the official F.L.N. Committees and the Government—the class struggle. True the 'Council of the Revolution' is almost entirely composed of soldiers (twenty-three out of twenty-five). Most of the Government members are men of the former A.N.P. (National People's Army). The secretariat of the F.L.N. is controlled by five army officers. But this does not provide a homogeneous ruling group. There is nothing in common between men like Abdelaziz Zerdani, supporter of the Algiers Charter, Ahmed Kaid, who defines socialism as 'a state of the soul', Abdesselam Belaid, advocate of a 'liberal economy', Bouteflika, who is primarily concerned with good relations with the West and is bitterly anti-Communist, and Saout el Arab, who is still deeply involved with the aspirations of the poor peasants and very ill at ease among the new rulers.

Lower in the hierarchy of those who participated in or applauded the putsch, the differences are even more acute. Even if some knew just what they were doing, others among the officers and rank and file are concerned about the revival of reaction, and wonder whether they have not opened the gates to a flood which threatens in due course to overwhelm them too.

Subjected to these contradictory pressures, the new regime is compelled to multiply its declarations in favour of the aims of the revolution (declarations which, thus far, have not convinced the public), while at the same time avoiding any action which would prejudice the conservative forces which constitute its effective base.

DISTRUST AND HOSTILITY

This policy, resulting in a sort of immobility, could be considered a minor evil. But the blows struck against the revolutionary forces have further consequences. According to all reports, it is not the 'seriousness and efficiency' of the official declaration which is the most noticeable feature of Algeria 'free from "personal power"'. On the contrary, if change there has been, it is for the worse. Never has the administration, now left in the hands of the colonialist-trained civil servants, acted with such inefficiency and lack of democracy; never has it been so costly. 'Austerity for all,' was the demagogic slogan of the 'Council of the Revolution', accusing its predecessors of 'squandering public funds'. However it was the former President who got Parliament to adopt the principle of a 'Socialist Maximum Income', to restrain the appetites of top civil servants who awarded themselves scandalously high salaries. This principle has been forgotten. Despite Boumedienne's promise that public expenditure would be curtailed he has approved a new budget providing for increased expenditure (from 3,052 million dinars in 1965 to 3,200 million in 1966). The main increase is the allocation for the Ministry of the Interior, which speaks for itself. As for the army—one is never so well served as by oneself!—it is allocated the sum of 490 million dinars, 15 per cent of the total budget. Not bad for an army whose personnel numbers less than 60,000 men.

However the best test of the aims of the new regime is to examine its attitude towards the socialist sector and the system of self-management. Ben Bella had very clear views on this question. 'I note,' he said, 'that the belittlement of self-management only reflects the hidden ambition of rich Algerians to see a return to private enterprise and its unjust profits. If these designs are realised it means the end of socialism.'*

The 'tough measures and a clear policy to get out of the depression' announced in the 'Council of the Revolution's' proclamation on economic questions could be interpreted as a first attack on workers' self-management. This interpretation was confirmed by Colonel Boumedienne's call for private investment, in his speech opening the Algiers Fair, and also by certain decisions to hand back to their former owners the 'Norcolor' enterprise and lands in the region of Lakhdaria (ex-Palestro). These measures of denationalisation caused such a stir among the workers that Col. Boumedienne was forced to state that he was not against the principle of self-management enterprises, but they had to be run on 'profitable lines'. It remains to be seen what the

*Robert Merle: *Ahmed Ben Bella*, p. 183 (French edition).

State intends to do to help the self-management sector to overcome the teething troubles inevitable in the early stages of all socialist experience. It would appear that the present regime is not protector and ally of a the self-management sector against the private sector, but instead, and increasingly, the instrument of the latter.

'The era of paternalistic self-management is over,' writes *Revolution Africaine* amplifying Boumedienne's words. 'No more favours; self-managed enterprises will have to pay company taxes. No more subsidies; they will have to provide for depreciation of plant. In a word: rational management. It is only after this type of experience that we shall be able to pass a definite judgment on self-management.'

This 'tough' attitude is only in one direction. Nothing is said about the obligations of the 'revolutionary' authorities towards the socialist sector. Nor is it confined to words. With unusual efficiency, practical measures were taken by the regime. The government blocked the bank accounts of self-management enterprises which were in arrear with taxes, making it impossible for them to pay out wages. To make matters worse, the government refuses to pay its own debts to those enterprises. Thus the 'timber combine' UDIBA, which groups various enterprises employing 600 workers has not been able to pay wages for two months. The same applies to the metallurgical works 'Cometal' employing 500 workers. Other enterprises which owe no debts to the state, and which are run profitably, get no better treatment. The public works enterprise S.O.T.R.A.B.A. owes nothing to the state. It has during the year fulfilled contracts worth 10 million francs, and has been run on economic lines. It is nevertheless threatened due to lack of contracts from the government. Signed contracts are being cancelled and given to private firms. For example a contract for the construction of a textile factory has been cancelled in favour of a French firm, S.O.P.R.A.F.O.M., which had quoted a higher price.

No doubt these measures have been taken to 'establish confidence' among capitalists, especially French firms; but this is certainly not the way to test the validity of the principle of self-management by the workers. Whatever the true intentions of the new rulers, it is the best way to demonstrate the 'failure' of the system, not only in industrial but also in agricultural self-management enterprises. That the position on self-managing farms is no better was shown by recent strikes of agricultural workers in the Mitidja and Oran districts.

It is hardly surprising, in these circumstances, that despite the tone of the declarations of intention by Colonel Boumedienne, the workers have maintained their attitude of distrust and hostility towards the regime.

SEARCH FOR A DOCTRINE

The difficulties which the new rulers face in maintaining cohesion among their followers were highlighted by the meeting of the 'Council of the Revolution' at the end of 1965. How to reassure the big landowners who were relieved at the ousting of Ben Bella, who was identified with land reform—and also the fellahs who are awaiting the long promised distribution of land? How to avoid clashing with the workers in self-managed enterprises—and at the same time please the capitalists who desire the downfall of these enterprises? How to bring together the men who remain faithful to socialist principles and others who are impatiently waiting for 'total liberalization' of the economy to make huge profits?

The 'Council of the Revolution' has to live with all these contradictions. The new F.L.N. has failed to define a common programme. They declare their dislike for what they call 'the Socialism of Ben Bella'. But in fact what they have rejected is the analysis of Algerian society with its different classes and the definition of Algeria's path to socialism, based on Marxist principles, as reflected in the Charter of Algiers.

One of the charges against Ben Bella most vehemently pressed by Hourari Boumedienne was that he 'divided the people' by defining different classes. Ben Bella had rightly seen that a new stage in the path to socialism had arrived, in which the sacred union of all classes within the nation which existed during the war of liberation could no longer subsist. It was essential to attack the landlords and capitalists and all who had an interest in the maintenance of a system of exploitation. Ben Bella was not the only one to defend this concept. The second Congress of the F.L.N. had formulated it as follows in the Charter of Algiers:

> The nature of revolutionary power is to defend the interests of the working classes which constitute its social foundation. They cannot fail to clash with the privileged classes which comprise all those who on one way or another own the means of production and also the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The new regime has turned its back on these class conceptions. They even go so far as to deny that there is any basic difference between the war of liberation and the struggle for the transformation of society.

'Personal power (i.e. Ben Bella)', says Colonel Boumedienne, 'had sown dissension in our ranks. He tried to tell us that the struggle for independence was different to the present one being waged for socialism.'

In the name of a 'return to the source', the 'spirit of the First November' is exalted—that is, the union of all classes, as opposed to the 'attempts at division' said to mark the previous administration.

These are not merely theoretical disputes. The forsaking of the class concept has immediate consequences, particularly regarding the social composition of the membership of the F.L.N. It amounts to a rejection of the constitution approved by the Second Congress, which required that 'a member of the Party shall not exploit the labour of another', and stated that 'the Party draws its strength from the peasants and the workers'. Unfortunately there had not been enough time to apply this constitution to create a truly revolutionary party. But it did lay down a general direction, and that is what is being abandoned today. Sherif Belkacem's concept of a party 'open to all', rejected by most conscious militants, has been adopted in practice. It is hard to see how it could be at the same time, as claimed by the authors of the coup, 'a vanguard Party'. The official F.L.N., supervised by the 'Council of the Revolution' which has proclaimed itself 'the supreme organ of the Party' is nothing but an appendage of the military authorities.

Although the new rulers are very lavish in their criticism of 'personal power' and the 'foreign ideologies it had introduced', their are less confident when defining their own 'socialism'. Apart from certain vague slogans such as 'Authentic Algerian Socialism', and 'a revolution which needs the advice of no one', they avoid more precise definitions which could shatter the very fragile unity which can only last as long as confusion persists. But how long can that be? That is why the 'Council of the Revolution' has set up a Commission 'to elaborate an ideological policy'—prudently avoiding any definition of its main objectives.

The long-awaited land reform has also been discreetly referred to by another Commission, in the following terms:

> The Council of the Revolution decides to create a Commission under its supervision to prepare the introduction of land reform as from 1966. This Commission will define the land area to come under reform, determine the most economical ways of its introduction and define the methods of administration. The land reform in question will aim at improving the standard of living of the poorer peasants and speeding up agricultural development.

Not a word about the necessity to attack the privileges of the large landowners and feudal landlords; not even a word about the limitation of large estates. The extent of this backward step can be measured when we remember the clearly stated position of the Second F.L.N. Congress:

> There are in Algeria 8,500 farms of 100 hectares and 15,000 farms of more than 50 hectares. These 23,000 farms cover nearly 4½ million hectares, leaving 7 million hectares to be divided into 600,000 farms. To carry out a revolution one must not hesitate to attack privileged positions wherever they may be. Therefore our land reform plan will limit the size of farms and will only affect the large landowners and some medium sized farms.

The meeting of the F.L.N. Central Committee in June 1964 defined the procedure for carrying out the Congress decisions:

> The next stage of the agrarian revolution must aim at liquidating the large estates. Consequently:
> 1. It will only affect the very large landowners;
> 2. It will respect the small and medium estates as well as their livestock;
> 3. The land reclaimed by the above limitations of large estate shall be dealt with as follows, taking into account the economic and social requirements:
>
> —Integrated in the socialist sector as self-managed units;
> —Farmed by co-operative organisations;
> —Farmed by individual farmers.
>
> Land reform shall be carried out by the peasants themselves, through the setting up of Communal Committees of poor peasants and landless peasants.

All these decisions seem to have been forgotten, as no more is heard of them and the Commission starts from scratch, as if no prior document was available. One can well imagine in what direction the reactionary forces will try to influence a reappraisal of land reform.

THOSE WHO ARE SATISFIED

In the light of this short analysis of the decisions of the 'Council of the Revolution', its compromises and silence on vital problems, one can agree with the gist of a pamphlet distributed by the underground F.L.N. in Algeria:

> The new regime confirms that it has not emerged only to 'correct' the lack of collective leadership of the F.L.N. The new regime seems to be dominated by, and is identified with, the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie, frightened by the rise of the working class. It has—consciously in some, unconsciously in others—become the instrument of the exploiting classes, in its permanent aims of undermining the socialist core of the Algiers Charter as well as the revolutionary and anti-capitalist element of the Tripoli programme.

If Algerian revolutionaries and the true friends of the Algerian people are disturbed on examining the above 'balance-sheet', the neo-colonialists and international capitalism seem extremely pleased with it. The French Minister for Algerian Affairs, M. de Broglie, addressing the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly, expressed his satisfaction at the 'political situation which we are justified in welcoming'.

His satisfaction is understandable. Dealing with a country with growing economic problems, headed by a government without an ideology and isolated from the people—hence able to offer less resistance—political and economic blackmail becomes much easier. The pressures being exercised by France are well illustrated by the problem of Algerian wine exports. The de Gaulle government not only shows

no sign of responding to urgent Algerian demands for the immediate future, but has not even carried out its commitments for the past year. Twenty million hectolitres (the equivalent of one and a half crops) are waiting in the cellars to be sold; essentially the decision is in the hands of the French government.

Algeria is also tied to France by the necessity for her to request (annually, since the three-year period stipulated in the Evian Agreement has now expired) the renewal of French aid. The amount of aid is not stipulated in advance; the purse strings can be tightened in accordance with the goodwill or otherwise of the creditor, who has moreover to approve the way the funds shall be used. A very large part of this aid (120 million francs out of the 480 million promised for 1966) must be used for the purchase of industrial equipment in France.

Following the oil agreement negotiated by the Boumedienne government, new French-Algerian negotiations are taking place. Their subject will be Algerian requests that French aid should be stipulated for several years to allow for long-term planning. They will also deal with the role of the 'Organization of Industrial Co-operation', a French-Algerian Committee which will play a part in planning of the industrial development of Algeria. In the expert hands of powerful financiers it can become an ideal instrument of neo-colonialism. Unfortunately, one must note that the present Algerian team is not as well equipped as the previous one to meet these dangers, and put to Algerian advantage the positive aspects of the 'co-operation agreements'. To carry out a policy of 'progressive disengagement from the sphere of imperialism', as laid down in the Charter of Algiers, requires a government with the solid support of the masses of people and in close co-operation with the socialist countries.

AND NOW?

And now, where is Algeria going? It is still too early to see what will be the final outcome of the contradictory tendencies within the 'Council of the Revolution'. It is also too early to discern what forms will be taken by the struggle between the revolutionary masses and the privileged classes; between the believers in true socialism and those who want a return to the past. What is certain is that this struggle is already developing and is having repercussions even within the ranks of those who carried out or welcomed the coup. We can already note that, in spite of the possibilities of reaction, the forces most hostile to socialism have not been able to attain their aim of the total destruction of the achievements of the revolution. They have scored points, but have to work behind the scenes.

As regards foreign policy we can even note that these forces have

been forced to retreat, as well illustrated by Boumedienne's visit to Moscow. In the first weeks of the new administration (whose birth had been warmly welcomed in Washington and Bonn, men who had played an important role in the putsch, such as Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Kaid Ahmed, the new Finance Minister, did not hide their desire to alter the foreign policy of Algeria in favour of closer relations with the United States and West Germany. Friendly messages were exchanged with Dean Rusk at a time when the U.S. was intensifying the bombing of North Vietnam. At the same time representatives of liberation movements in Algeria were asked to slow down their activities. However, now the rulers of the 'Council of the Revolution' are once again emphasising their continuation of the anti-imperialist policy of the previous regime. It is notable that the joint Soviet-Algerian statement signed by Colonel Boumedienne on behalf of his government strongly condemns American aggression in Vietnam, attacks imperialist intrigues in Africa and elsewhere, and pays tribute to the disinterested assistance of the U.S.S.R. Colonel Boumedienne also stressed the historic significance of the October Revolution for national liberation struggles and reaffirmed that Algeria remained faithful to socialism.

When we analyse this visit and the above declaration, it is clear that Boumedienne had gone to Moscow in search of the 'revolutionary' stamp of approval which he is unable to attain in Algiers. This 'stamp' was politely withheld by the Soviet authorities, who kept the talks at government level, not at Party level. Kosygin formally 'noted with satisfaction the declaration according to which Algeria intends to adhere strictly to her policy as proclaimed in 1962 . . . that the choice of the Algerian people for socialism is irrevocable'. At the same time *Pravda* published an article on the morning of the visitors' arrival, in which they were reminded that it is impossible to work for socialism by persecuting revolutionaries, and by preaching and practising anti-communism.

Whatever its motives, it is clear that the visit to Moscow, and the resulting agreement, marked one of the first defeats for the retrograde elements within the government. These first changes are partly due to differences of opinion within the leadership and the realization by certain of its members of the dangers to independence which would follow a rupture of established alliances with the socialist countries. But they are essentially due to the resistance of the masses. This resistance expresses itself in various forms—passively, in refusal to support a policy different from that which had accounted for Ben Bella's popularity; actively, when it explodes in unsuspected demonstrations. For example, during the making of the film 'Battle of Algiers'

the Italian producer Pontecorvo recruited 'extras' from the Casbah and asked them to march down the streets as they had done in 1961, shouting 'Algeria Algerienne!' That was how it started, but suddenly a new slogan, more up to date, won the day—the cry of 'YAHIA BEN BELLA!' This brought the police into action and resulted in a number of arrests. Similarly a demonstration of students which began, with official permission, as a demonstration against the Ben Barka kidnapping affair, took an unexpected turn when the students spontaneously developed it into a demonstration for Ben Bella and against the coup. This ended with further arrests and the suspension of the main branch of the students' union.

Resistance is also seen among the workers who are strongly defending self-management and trade union rights by numerous strikes against newly-arrogant employers, and against the attempts of the official F.L.N. to control the Algerian Trade Union Congress by appointing officials from above. Resistance is also developing among women's organizations; on International Women's Day a speech by Boumedienne was booed.

Such opposition can only increase the doubts and anxiety in the minds of those revolutionaries, both civilians and military, who though they applauded or were passive during the putsch have since seen nothing but gains by the privileged classes and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It is not inconceivable that these revolutionaries will now realize that the only enemies of socialism are those on the right wing. It is in the light of this factor that one must read the call of the Underground F.L.N. addressed to 'all revolutionaries', wherever they may be. The call proposes the following aims for unity and action—Release of all political detainees and an end to repression; respect of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution; free expression of all points of view and the restoration of legality.

The future political development of Algeria depends on the capacity of these progressive forces to organize themselves rapidly and to aim new blows against reaction. In the future, these forces will have to ensure new revolutionary conquests.

The struggle in Algeria is by no means finished!

NIGERIA:

Behind the coup

A. LANGA

THE MILITARY TAKEOVER in Nigeria has met with mixed reactions from abroad, ranging from the hypocritical mourning of the imperialist press in Europe and America for the 'death of democracy' in Nigeria, to qualified approval from all progressive people, who knew that Nigeria's 'constitutional democracy' was a smokescreen for rule by imperialism and its feudal stooges. In Nigeria, however, the destruction of the Federal Government has been hailed with jubilation by the mass of the people, who have suffered so long and grievously under the farce of Nigeria's 'showpiece' political system. What convinced the young officers who initiated the takeover that military rule for at least a limited period was the only solution to Nigeria's problems? And why has the coup been greeted with such enthusiasm by the mass of Nigerians, when in most countries political action by the armed forces is regarded as inexcusable interference in civilian affairs?

There has been little trouble taken to conceal the fact that federalism in Nigeria was conceived by the British to ensure that a controllable administration was in power, faithful to the needs of imperialism in the economic and political fields. As Henry Bretton, an American bourgeois academic, points out, the constitutional structure of Nigeria at independence in October 1960 was designed so as to transfer power to an elite chosen in advance by the British. The departing colonialists ensured, by expatriate domination of the Civil Service, and by training their successors in the 'Westminster tradition', that the formal operation of the administration would be to the commercial and political advantage of the imperialist countries. The British were also concerned to assure that Nigerian politics would be so arranged to preserve the *status quo* in each of the regions for as long as possible.

It has been plain for some time that this policy of 'fixing' Nigeria's future for the benefit of foreign exploitation to the detriment of the Nigerian people has been in the process of collapsing. Three significant blows against this pernicious system were the founding of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party in 1963, the great general strike of 1964,

and the boycott of the last General Election by the United Progressive Grand Alliance.

The bankrupt nature of the policies of the stooge government since independence can plainly be seen from the fact that Nigeria, one of the largest and potentially one of the richest countries on the African Continent, has an income *per capita* of under £80 a year, in common with Africa's poorest countries, such as Niger, Tanzania, Malawi and Upper Volta. Of course it would be ludicrous to suggest that the government of independent Nigeria is even primarily, let alone solely, responsible for this state of affairs—there is no need to tell readers of the AFRICAN COMMUNIST of the wholesale robbery and exploitation that is the essence and the meaning of colonialism. But what is significant is that vast profits are still being reaped from Nigeria's wealth—by Dunlop, with their 20,000-acre rubber plantation, by the foreign banks and the American and British oil companies, while the Nigerian masses remain subject to unemployment, falling prices for crops, and a rising cost of living.

Nigeria has become a prime target for operations by the big monopolist banking institutions—Barclays D.C.O., Philip Hill, Credit Lyonnais, and big U.S. banks such as Chase Manhattan, Bank of America and the Morgan-controlled Bankers Trust Corporation are all expanding their investments. The 'oil bonanza', particularly in the Eastern Region, but also in the Mid-West, has, of course, attracted the huge oil monopolies like flies to honey. Shell-B.P. has investments worth £175 million in Nigerian oil, mainly in the East, while the U.S. Gulf Oil Corporation is rapidly expanding its operations in the Mid-West. Natural gas is being siphoned out by Shell in partnership with Barclays Bank. Of course, the imperialist firms concerned are ensuring that the oilfields will be of minimum advantage to Nigeria, and of maximum advantage to themselves. The refinery just completed (owned by Shell) at Port Harcourt will process only 10 per cent of Nigeria's total oil output—in other words, only sufficient for the country's domestic requirements. The rest will be exported in crude form, making it possible not to disturb operations outside Nigeria while making super-profits on Nigerian extraction. Nigeria's import-export trade is dominated by a single company which is known and hated by Africans throughout the continent—the United Africa Company, a subsidiary of the colossal Unilever group. U.A.C. handles one-third of all goods imported into the country, and one-fifth of all exports.

CORRUPT POLITICIANS

This thumb-nail sketch gives some idea of imperialist penetration of the Nigerian economy. The foreign monopolies have been assiduously

helped by the Nigerian ruling class, the capitalists, bureaucrats and feudal reactionaries whose eclipse has been so richly enjoyed by all true Nigerians. Although the army takeover has not broken them, it has broken the hold which they had on power in Nigeria. Nor were these shameful compradore activities confined to the archreactionaries of the Northern People's Congress. All the other major political parties, with the honourable exception of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party, must share in the blame. Even a cursory examination of Nigerian politics since independence shows crude somersaults, abandonment of all principle, fraud, deceit and corruption on the part of many of the leaders of the big political parties.

Following the Federal elections of 1959, a coalition government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, now called National Convention of Nigerian Citizens) was formed, with the feudalist N.P.C. as the rider and the N.C.N.C. as the horse. This gave the governing group an overwhelming majority of 237 seats against the opposition Action Group's seventy-five. The Action Group, however, formed the government of the Western Region under Chief Akintola, while the N.C.N.C. controlled the East, and, after its formation, the new Mid-West Region. The N.P.C., political arm of the northern Hausa-Fulani emirs, was solidly entrenched in the North, not by popular vote but by the say-so of British colonialism. The first elections for the Northern Region government were not held until May 1961, by which time the emirs had had the opportunity to extend their control over almost all parts of the region by their usual methods of kangaroo courts and police terror, coupled with wholesale rigging of elections.

The ruling circles in the Federal Government, however, were not content with direct control of the North and East through the N.C.N.C. and N.P.C. They now set about engineering the crisis in the Western Region which, nearly four years later, was to be a prime cause of their downfall.

Akintola, the Action Group Prime Minister in the Western Region, eager for even bigger spoils and prestige, had been arguing since independence that the Action Group should join the ruling Federal coalition. Obafemi Awolowo, the A.G's Federal Opposition leader, who represented a more progressive section of the Action Group, refused, and was supported by the national executive of the party, in January 1962. In May the executive demanded Akintola's resignation from the Western Region premiership. Akintola, confident of the support of his Northern masters, refused. Subsequent events highlight the political bankruptcy of Nigeria's 'constitutional' politics. Instead of taking the issue to the people of the Western Region, who

would without doubt have supported Awolowo's more radical line, the Action Group resorted to petty constitutional manoeuvres. To avoid a vote of no confidence, which would have meant fresh elections, the Action Group circulated a petition in the Western Region Assembly, demanding Akintola's resignation. Akintola was dismissed by the Governor of the Region, but the Federal Government reacted with feverish haste, declaring a state of emergency in the Western Region, banned all meetings, and placed Awolowo and scores of his supporters under restriction. Later in 1962, Awolowo and thirty others were tried on charges of 'sedition', and Awolowo himself was sentenced to ten years in prison in September 1963.

Akintola was reinstated as Western Region Premier at the end of 1962. When a judicial decision declared his reinstatement illegal, he hastily pushed a constitutional amendment through the Assembly to legalize his position. He was backed up, naturally, by the Federal political bosses, both from the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C., whose Western Region Assembly members entered into a cynical alliance with Akintola and his sidekicks to defeat the elected majority party, the Action Group.

This scheming, manoeuvring, and squabbling over the spoils of office was characteristic of the behaviour of the major political parties in Nigeria before the overthrow of the 'constitutional democracy'. The politicians in Lagos, and their counterparts in the regional capitals, regarded political or bureaucratic office as a licence to print their own money. Many were big capitalists in their own right—but this did not stop them from misusing public funds from state corporations, from voting themselves huge salaries and privileges, or from taking bribes for 'favours' to local and foreign business interests. Over a million pounds a year was spent on cars for civil servants and politicians in the year following independence, and about half that amount annually on 'entertainment' and 'housing' allowances.

HIGH-LIFE AND STARVATION

The businessmen and politicians enjoyed the high-life of Lagos and grew fat on profits and 'dash'—but just a little way from the smart centre of the city are some of the world's most appalling slums, where there is little high-life, but much misery, poverty and starvation. The same holds true for Nigeria's other urban centres—unemployment, pittances for those lucky enough to be working, and ruthless exploitation by everyone from the huge imperialist concern down to the petty trader, who is himself being pressed by the bigger vultures above him. In the rural areas, the peasants are impoverished by falling prices for their few export crops, high prices for the necessities of life, and the

encroachment of big foreign and domestic estate-owners on their property. The *talakawa* in the North are at the mercy of the terrorism of emir rule, burdened with innumerable feudal tithes and taxes, and may be thrown into jail or sold into slavery by the 'native authorities' if they cannot meet the demands of their masters.

It would be misleading to tar all politicians of the three big parties—the N.P.C., the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group—with the same brush. The dominant force in the Nigerian system of oppression was the creature of the feudal emirs—the Northern People's Congress. Strong progressive elements existed in both the Action Group and the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, Nigeria's independence movement in the struggle against the British. But all of them, willingly or not, were compromised by the participation of the leaderships in both the Federal and Regional Governments, without any attempt to change the system. It was this failure of the bourgeois leaderships to speak for the working class and for the rural masses which led to the founding of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party, Nigeria's first mass Marxist-Leninist Party, led by Dr. Tunji Otegbeye, former Secretary-General of the progressive Nigerian Youth Congress.

The manifesto, published when S.W.A.F.P. was founded in August 1963, states in a nutshell why its founders considered that the time was ripe for the creation of a mass socialist movement. The manifesto points out that, in their struggle for liberation, the Nigerian people aimed at three things: independence, democracy, and social and economic progress for everyone.

> These were the aims of the Nigerian people generally, but it is now clear that a section of the Nigerian businessmen and professionals who took part in the revolt did so in order to push out the British colonialists, set up a government of businessmen and place seekers, and use the State to enrich themselves. As for the chiefs, the majority of them opposed self-government, whilst some businessmen and professionals sided with the British colonialists. . . . This country is rich in resources, but it has become a flourishing garden only for foreign firms and their few Nigerian partners and hangers-on.
> The people need first and foremost a party of a new type, a party of workers, farmers, and patriotic and progressive citizens. Such a party is the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria—the Party of the oppressed.

Since its foundation, the S.W.A.F.P. has played a prominent part in Nigeria's political life, and has won considerable support among the working class and progressive farmers. For the first time, the Nigerian people had a party whose leaders had no wish to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses, a party which offered genuine democracy and freedom from domestic and neo-colonialist exploitation. The party's task has been extremely difficult—the Nigerian ruling class

reacted violently to this threat to their position, and S.W.A.F.P.'s leaders have been arrested on trumped-up charges, persecuted and pressurized in an effort to destroy the party's influence. Needless to say, these attempts have failed, while the party has pressed resolutely onwards.

STRIKE AND BOYCOTT

A great triumph, although an indirect one, for S.W.A.F.P.'s policy of working-class militant unity was Nigeria's great General Strike of June 1964, which brought one million workers out. The strike was not only a magnificent demonstration to the endemically split Nigerian trade union movement of the effectiveness of united action, and a crushing defeat for the Government. The strikers, by their action, demonstrated to the ruling class in a dramatic manner that it could no longer concern itself merely with struggling with rival groups for the spoils of power. The working class was flexing its muscles.

After the strike, many progressives in Nigeria and elsewhere hoped that the leaders of the N.C.N.C. and Action Group would take decisive action in the forthcoming Federal elections to break the vicious circle of reaction and N.P.C. domination. It was already clear that the N.C.N.C. would break away from its coalition with the N.P.C. and oppose it at the election, leaving only Akintola's Nigerian National Democratic Party in partnership with the feudalists. For a time, it seemed that this hope would become a reality. The Nigerian National Alliance (composed of the Northern and Western reactionaries, led by the Sardauna of Sokoto and Akintola), seeing that the rising tide of popular hatred would sweep it from office, embarked on a programme of violence, terrorism and intimidation, to make it impossible for any candidates to be returned to the North or West by the opposition United Progressive Grand Alliance (N.C.N.C., Action Group, Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Tiv people's United Middle Belt Congress). The U.P.G.A. retaliated by completely boycotting the election, and instructing supporters not to vote. S.W.A.F.P. supported the boycott.

The boycott was a massive success as a demonstration of the disgust which the Nigerian masses felt for the system of oppression and exploitation that had been foisted on them under the guise of federalism and constitutional democracy. Of the 15,000,000 people on the voters' roll, only 4,000,000 votes were cast—and there is considerable doubt whether even those four million were genuine.

Nigerian 'democracy' was successfully exposed as an obsolete and unworkable farce. Now, if ever, was the time for a revolutionary initiative on the part of the more progressive opposition groups, to throw

out the lackeys of imperialism and crush the enemies of Nigerian progress. In the tense days after December 30th, 1964, the day of the election that never was, it seemed certain that the whole machinery of exploitation and oppression was about to crash to the ground. President Azikiwe released to the press the text of a broadcast he proposed to make on January 1st, 1965, announcing his resignation and stating that it would be impossible for him to call on anyone to form a government on the results of the election. But soon the mechanism of bargaining, compromise, and buying-off of opponents swung into action. The President cancelled his broadcast, and on January 4th announced that he 'had no alternative' but to call on Balewa and the Nigerian National Alliance to form a government. As a concession to the opposition, the Cabinet would be of a 'broadly-based, national character'. This 'broadly-based' Cabinet, announced a few days later, had just two U.P.G.A. men in it, and fifteen N.N.A. members! The two U.P.G.A. supporters were Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, who had held the same post of Minister of Aviation in the previous government, and Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Minister of Finance, one of the richest and most hated capitalists in Nigeria.

But this sop was sufficient to buy off the U.P.G.A. opposition. On January 18th, the N.C.N.C. cynically announced that its members had 'rededicated themselves to the maintenance of democracy in Nigeria', and the Action Group also stated that it had decided not to defy Balewa and his bosses any longer.

Events in Nigeria after the Federal election demonstrated clearly the criminality of the U.P.G.A.'s sell-out to the Sardauna's men. The reshuffle of the Cabinet in April wrested even more ministries from formal members of the opposition, yet the U.P.G.A., and particularly the N.C.N.C., cravenly accepted the humiliation. The reason is not far to seek. Whatever their differences among themselves, and however feverish and brutal their struggles at elections and other crucial times, the political representatives of Nigeria's ruling elite are far more concerned with protecting their common interests from the threat of the masses than with resolutely struggling against oppression. U.P.G.A. although without doubt much more progressive than the National Alliance, and counting in its ranks many fine supporters of genuine democracy, of nationalism and anti-imperialism, is nevertheless led by a section of the Nigerian bourgeoisie, and such political ideas as it has are founded on capitalism and a policy of compromise and accommodation with imperialism. Instead of placing their faith in the people, U.P.G.A. leaders such as Okpara have used the masses to elevate themselves to a position where they can make deals with the feudalists and reactionaries over the heads of the Nigerian people.

THE WESTERN ELECTION

It was the conviction that the official opposition could be intimidated into backing down that prompted Balewa and Akintola once again to use terrorism, police thuggery and fraud to hold their position in the Western Region elections. It was absolutely essential for the ruling group to establish Akintola's National Democratic Party as the 'legally elected' government in the West, not only because of the West's wealth and comparatively high level of economic development, but because a failure to do so would mean that the National Alliance's area of political control would shrink to the feudal north, with the riches of the East and West in the control of the opposition.

But this time things went wrong. The rigging of the elections was done without a trace of subtlety, without more than a perfunctory effort to cover it up. Thugs of the Akintola faction beat up and terrorized people suspected of supporting the U.P.G.A. candidates, and prevented the people from casting their votes. In some places, opposition supporters were shot down when they went to the polls. Television pictures showed an old man being carried away from a polling booth, shot in the hip for having the courage to cast his vote as he pleased. Ballot boxes were stuffed with faked votes for N.N.D.P. candidates—in one case, the votes for an Akintola candidate amounted to more than the total number of registered voters in the constituency. During the campaign, members of Akintola's party indulged in scurrilous propaganda against minority groups, in a desperate effort to win the support of the Yoruba people by whipping up hatred against non-Yorubas.

Akintola and his henchmen had gone too far. When a 'landslide victory' of the N.N.D.P. was announced, popular anger was aroused to an extent which had never been seen in Nigeria before, not even during the general election of the previous year. Disgust and rage, simmering for so long, broke out into violent resistance to the attempted imposition of yet another regime of fraud, corruption and government oppression. Akintola and the Federal Government reacted with panic, placing Lagos and Ibadan under martial law, calling in troops to shoot down the demonstrators, in a desperate attempt to impose their rule on the Western Region. The editor of the *West African Pilot* was arrested for publishing the U.P.G.A. version of the election results, and Dr. Tunji Otegbeye, leader of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party, was detained on trumped-up charges of arson, attempted murder, and a string of other offences.

It was against this background of attempts by the ruling reactionaries to impose a dictatorship on the rebellious people that Major Nzegwu and his soldiers moved so suddenly on January 15th. Having succeeded

in their aim, of removing those most responsible for the corruption of Nigerian political life, the coup leaders were content to hand over to Nigeria's Army chief, General Aguiyi Ironsi.

The success of the coup in smashing the Federal Government, and in liquidating the three arch-enemies of the Nigerian people—Akintola, Okotie-Eboh, and the Sardauna of Sokoto, the real dictator of Nigeria —has been greeted with joy by the Nigerian people. The sentiment is that 'we are all Nigerians now'.

There can be no doubt that, in crushing the system which preceded it, the new military government has contributed significantly to progress in Nigeria. In its efforts to root out corruption and nepotism, and cut down on the fat salaries and allowances paid to Nigeria's inflated body of bureaucrats, it deserves and has the support of the Nigerian people and of democrats everywhere. The new administration has also announced that it will deal ruthlessly with anyone attempting to exploit tribal sentiment for any political ends, and it has abolished the regional structure of government, which has been proved wasteful and divisive. Prominent politicians and bureaucrats in all regions have been arrested pending enquiries into the financial affairs of the former regional governments.

S.W.A.F.P. WELCOMES ARMY ACTION

The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party has welcomed the takeover and the programme so far put forward by the military government. In a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Party, S.W.A.F.P. pledges its support of the military government, and declares that it will co-operate with the administration 'in all its efforts to rid Nigeria of the evils of tribalism, corruption and nepotism in all their manifestations; in all its efforts to guarantee consistent democracy to all Nigerians, extend the principles of equality and self-determination to all ethnic groups in our country and defend the country against foreign neo-colonialist exploitation and possible intervention'.

The Party has also put forward an eighteen-point programme to the military government for immediate action which will consolidate the gains of the January coup, including confiscation of assets of politicians found guilty of corruption; the institution of price and rent control; control of repatriation of profits of foreign-owned enterprises; the launching of a programme to eradicate unemployment; removal of the ban on public meetings, demonstrations, and processions; the restoration of fundamental human rights to all Nigerians; and free trade with all countries, in the interest of the Nigerian people.

The Party's statement makes clear that it is the duty of Nigerians to support the new government and consolidate the gains of the coup.

> Countrymen, it is your patriotic duty to educate the masses that the passing away of the last government was to the best interest of the people; that what the army did was in reply to the wishes of the masses; that Nigeria is one country.
> Every patriot of Nigeria should give the necessary co-operation to the new Military Regime so that it will be able to eliminate the evils of the old regime. . . .
> The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party pledges its unreserved support for any measures taken to ward off foreign intervention at this crucial stage of the nation's life.

There can be no doubt that Nigeria's coup was a patriotic and progressive action on the part of the armed forces. But Nigeria is not an island, isolated from the main currents of world events, and the Nigerian coup must be viewed in the context of a series of imperialist-inspired army takeovers elsewhere in West Africa. In some cases, it has meant merely the replacement of the present regime with officers who, while they could not possibly be more servile to imperialism than the previous leaders, are thought by imperialism to be more efficient. Such was the case with the Mobutu takeover in the Congo. Thus the test for Nigeria's new rulers is yet to come. The eighteen-point programme put forward by S.W.A.F.P., representing solutions to the most immediate and crucial tasks facing Nigeria, would put Nigeria well on the road to national independence, democracy and prosperity. At the same time, it is essential that Nigeria's masses, the workers and peasants, are given absolute freedom of organization and political expression, to carry forward the social revolution necessary to liberate Nigeria from poverty and backwardness. For no regime, no matter how patriotic, can effectively tackle Nigeria's problems without the support of a militantly organized alliance of all labouring people, both in the towns and in the countryside. The nucleus of such an alliance already exists in the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party, the only mass party based on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. The S.W.A.F.P. has offered its support and assistance to the new government. If the military regime takes up that offer, and moves decisively to extend democracy to the working people and break the grip of neo-colonialism, in both foreign and domestic matters, it will receive the firm support of the Nigerian masses, of all true Africans, and of democrats everywhere.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Hungarian Marxist on African History

THIS IS THE first of three volumes from Hungary on the history of Africa south of the Sahara. It covers the long span from the beginning of the historical period to the end of the last century. The second volume continues the survey to the outbreak of the second world war. The third will deal with events during and after the war.

This is an ambitious undertaking, the more so since the author has set himself the task of rewriting the history from the viewpoint of scientific Marxism. He explains that African historiography must aim at two things. One is to expose the lies and distortions of reactionary supporters of imperialism. The other is to extract the truth from the lies, and to draw the proper lessons from the actual past.

Professor Sik finds a special significance in the history of Africa. It proves the Marxist doctrine of primitive accumulation of capital, vindicates Lenin's teaching about the colonial policies of imperialist states, and justifies Stalin's thesis on the origin of nations and the national problem.

Readers who are acquainted with the standard works on African history will recognize that a book of this kind is unique. The author does not claim to be impartial. But he is objective. He does not suppress the evidence. He interprets it to demonstrate the destructive, exploitative character of capitalism and imperialist rule in Africa.

He rejects the approach of the bourgeois historians, who 'treat Africa from the angle of the European colonizer'. Africa had a history before the White men invaded the continent, and its peoples continued to make history after the invasion. They struggled against the colonizers and exploiters. Much of the book is taken up with the record of the struggle.

Part 1 deals with the period before the end of the fifteenth century. This section is disappointing. Professor Sik does no more than to mention the large states that existed in West Africa before the twelfth

century. He has not used the rich material made available by contemporary writers, like Basil Davidson, who have described the advanced social systems which flourished in parts of Africa before the White invasion. The reader will not know from his account that ancient Ghana, Mali, Bornu or Songhay had a civilization easily comparable with that of Europe in early feudal times.

Because of this omission, the author has failed to give an accurate account of the destruction caused by the slave trade in the societies of West and Central Africa. This too is unfortunate. For only when we recognize the havoc brought about by the slave raids, the loss of life, and the forcible migration of ten million men and women in their prime of life, can we understand why Africa seemed to be 'backward' at the beginning of the colonial and imperialist eras.

The epoch of the slave trade belongs to the 'age of primitive accumulation', and extends to the end of eighteenth century. It was in this period that the Portuguese and Dutch founded their colonial empires, also in Africa. The author describes the rivalries between the imperialist powers, and the effect on the African peoples.

He draws attention to the peculiar position of the settlers in the Cape Colony. They became 'landowners, usurpers and even slaveholders'. Yet, at the same time, they were oppressed and exploited by the Dutch East India Company. The British annexed the Cape in the period of industrial capitalism and, according to Professor Sik, proceeded in their turn to oppress the Boers.

He is sympathetic to the Boer colonists and, in the opinion of this reviewer, overlooks their backward and oppressive treatment of the African and Coloured people. For instance, he says that the Boers 'were not in principle against the liberation of the slaves'. Yet it is undeniable that the frontiersmen tried to reintroduce slavery, under the guise of 'apprenticeship', in their independent republics.

Professor Sik admires the Boer for his 'love of freedom and independence, craving after total democracy for "his people",' and 'the ardent patriotism characteristic of the most progressive elements of the Boer people'. It is well known, however, that these qualities—if they do exist—have not deterred the Boer from imposing one of the most tyrannical and brutal regimes the world has known on the great majority of South Africans.

Later volumes will, we hope, explain how the police state that operates in South Africa came into being. There is much in this volume to enlighten the reader about the early record of imperialism in Africa.

J. BOVEY

The History of Black Africa, Vol. 1.
By Endre Sik, Budapest, 1966, 398 pp., ill.

Colonialism and Revolution

REVOLUTION IS A GREAT CATALYST. It transforms vague motives and emotions into thoughts, policies, programmes; it pushes ideas towards the acid test of revolutionary action. For the vacillating, the undecided, revolution is a hard master—the revolutionaries have only one question to ask of him: are you my brother, or are you my foe?

In the revolution to which Frantz Fanon was so brutally introduced, it was perhaps easier to choose. In Algeria, there were none of the refinements, the masks, the subtleties, which reaction uses to cover its actions. The visible enemy of the Algerian people's revolution was the para, the policeman, the *colon*, the beast of the O.A.S. The invisible enemies, too, were well known to the Algerian people—the Paris government, the metropolitan banks and oil monopolies, the absentee landlords, the whole structure and might of French imperialism. The entire people was at war with the foreign oppressor, stripping imperialism of the thin veneer of civilization to which it aspired, and revealing it in all its savagery.

Fanon, born in Martinique, came from France to work as a psychiatrist in a hospital to which was brought the human debris of colonial repression—the revolutionaries (those 'lucky' enough not to have been murdered by the French forces) driven mad by torture, the women unbalanced by being raped by French soldiers, the peasants driven to paranoia by the bestiality of the French army, the policemen so besotted with blood-lust that they were torturing their own wives and children when no prisoners were immediately available.

If Frantz Fanon's writings* had been confined to cataloguing these horrors, he would have done a great service to Algeria and to the cause of national liberation. But what he left behind at his premature death from leukemia in 1961 is much more than a clinical record of the psychoses of revolution. He has written an acute analysis of the political forces in colonial society, of the problems of mass political organization and the fostering of a level of patriotic national consciousness sufficiently high to enable the people to throw out their oppressor. Fanon has much to say, too, to Africans in 1966, in the time of a massive and co-ordinated neo-colonialist counter-offensive which aims, by the use of the African puppet instead of the colonial governor, to snuff out the flame of genuine African freedom for ever. The reader may disagree, as some reviewers have done, with individual statements and ideas. But there can be no doubt that the over-all

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* Frantz Fanon—*The Wretched of the Earth*, MacGibbon and Kee, 36s. *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*, Monthly Review Press, 40s.

picture Fanon draws, and the penetrating psychological insights he gives us, have the unmistakable, at times uncomfortable, ring of truth.

Fanon experienced the struggle for liberation in its most advanced stage, that of armed revolution, and perhaps for that reason he is too undiscriminating in singling out all the leaders of African countries who came to power by non-violent means, as actual or potential traitors to the cause of national liberation. Again and again, Fanon hammers at those who have duped the people, and who now betray their trust:

> The people who for years on end have seen this leader and heard him speak, who from a distance in a kind of dream have followed his contests with the colonial power, spontaneously put their trust in this patriot. Before independence, the leader generally embodies the aspirations of the people for independence, political liberty and national dignity. But as soon as independence is declared, far from embodying in concrete form the needs of the people in what touches bread, land, and the restoration of the country to the sacred hands of the people, the leader will reveal his inner purpose: to become the general president of that company of profiteers impatient for their returns which constitutes the national bourgeoisie.

Harsh words, and richly deserved by so many 'nationalist' leaders. Here are none of the contemporary myths about 'classless' African society. Fanon knows full well that, for many of the emerging national bourgeoisie in Africa, independence means taking political and economic power from the imperialists—not to build a better life for the masses of the people, but to line their own pockets as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. And, if the cause of their own enrichment can best be served by bowing and scraping to the foreign masters, that, too, is in order.

Sadly, the list of those who have not justified the people's trust is long enough: Senghor, Balewa, M'ba, Houphouet-Boigny and many others. But there are also many who might be said to come from the sort of 'elite' of which Fanon speaks, and yet who have played an honourable part in Africa's struggle for liberation—one need only mention Nyerere, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Ben Bella and Massamba-Debat.

But this is really to quibble over inessentials, for there can be no doubt that Frantz Fanon would be first to recognize the injustice of tarring all these leaders with the same brush. What he is really showing us, in his forthright way, is the vigilance necessary if Africa is to attain its democratic heritage.

* * * *

Besides emphasizing the necessity of revolutionary vigilance, to ensure that the masses did not free themselves from colonialism only

to be ground under the heel of an emerging bourgeoisie, Fanon argues that it is essential that the *entire* people, peasants and subsistence farmers in outlying areas as well as the urban working class and intelligentsia, is mobilized for the task of building the new nation. Now it is a fact, acknowledged in many African countries, that the mass organizations which led the people to independence did not always succeed in penetrating into areas far away from the major towns, where traditional society, even today, has not surrendered to the new national consciousness. The reasons for this are many. Invariably, confronted with the growing might of the independence movement and the organized working class, the colonialists desperately turned to reactionary chiefs and headmen in the countryside, playing up regional, tribal and religious hostilities, feverishly encouraging hostility towards 'those townsmen who care nothing for us', recruiting policemen and soldiers from backward districts to shoot down strikers and demonstrators, and generally doing their utmost to turn the peasants away from the goal of independence. In other cases, even after independence unscrupulous traditional leaders, fearing the new spirit of nationalism as a threat to their position, have used any and every means to sow discord and deflect their people from the chance of a better life.

The fostering of a truly *national* consciousness, undivided by tribal, religious or regional loyalties, and founded on a militant, anti-imperialist ideology, Fanon emphasizes as the pre-condition for true liberation. Both the government machine and the mass political organizations of the people must be mobilized to this end.

> The setting up early in the days of independence of regional organizations and officials who have full authority to do everything in their power to awaken such a region, to bring life to it and to hasten the growth of consciousness in it is a necessity from which there is no escape for a country that wishes to progress.
> In an under-developed country, the party ought to be organized in such a fashion that it is not simply content with having contacts with the masses. The party should be the direct expression of the masses. The party is not an administration responsible for transmitting government orders; it is the energetic spokesman and incorruptible defender of the masses. In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very Western, very bourgeois and therefore contemptuous attitude that the masses are incapable of governing themselves. In fact, experience proves that the masses understand perfectly the most complicated problems. . . . It is from the base that forces mount up which supply the summit with its dynamic, and make it possible dialectically for it to leap ahead. The nation does not exist except in a programme which has been worked out by revolutionary leaders and taken up with the full understanding and enthusiasm of the masses.

Fanon's analysis of the nature of the task of achieving complete national independence rests on solid foundations. He repeats, force-

fully, what we know to be true: that imperialism is not defeated when the national flag is unfurled and the nationalist government moves into State House. But he goes further than that. Too many African countries, he says, have unthinkingly taken over Western institutions, Western ways of doing things, Western ideas, which are objectively inimical to African progress. Insidiously, these influences can corrupt new countries and deflect them from progressive courses, separate the leaders from the masses, and open the way for the imperialist re-occupation, in fact if not in form, of Africa. 'Colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they remove their flags and their police from our territories'. We have only to look around us to see the truth of that statement, not only in the domination of Africa's economy, in one way or another, by the imperialist powers, not only in the oceans of imperialist propaganda which try to engulf our continent, but in far more subtle, yet equally effective ways. The Western idea of the army as a separate caste for example, with its own privileges and powers, has clearly wrought great damage in Africa. Kwame Nkrumah would have done well to heed this advice of Fanon's: 'Care must be taken to avoid turning the army into an autonomous body which sooner or later, finding itself idle and without any definite mission, will go into politics and threaten the government. Drawing-room generals, by dint of haunting the corridors of government departments, come to dream of manifestos. The only way to avoid this menace is to educate the army politically, in other words truly to nationalize it.'

* * * *

Fanon states flatly that there is really no choice for the under-developed nations but to take the path of socialism.

> The capitalist regime . . . cannot leave us free to perform our work at home, nor our duty in the world. Capitalist exploitation and cartels and monopolies are the enemies of under-developed countries. On the other hand the choice of a socialist regime, a regime which is completely orientated towards the people as a whole and based on the principle that man is the most precious of all possessions, will allow us to go forward more quickly and more harmoniously, and thus make impossible that caricature of society where all economic and political power is held in the hands of a few who regard the nation as a whole with scorn and contempt.

In many ways, Fanon's works, and in particular the 'theoretical' sections of *The Wretched of the Earth*, defy description or ordinary analysis. Time and again, the watchful reader will come across seemingly contradictory statements, imprecisions, and seeming exaggerations. Parts of the book are a strange mixture of broad theoretical generalizations about colonialism, the struggle for liberation, and the nature

of nationalism, and on the other hand detailed examination of particular problems of national reconstruction, mass struggle and political organization, with specific examples mainly from the Algerian war of liberation. Why, too, do we have in one volume (*The Wretched of the Earth*) extensive case histories of psychiatric disturbances alongside writings on colonialism, nationalism and revolution?

The reason for these 'faults' is easily discovered. These books were not written in the seclusion of a university or a library, but literally forged on the battleground of revolution. Most of the chapters, one can imagine, were written under considerable pressure, while Fanon was working for the F.L.N., first in Algeria, then in Ghana. But this is their strength as well as their weakness. The vividness and power which the immediacy of his experience gives to his writing is not at all weakened by minor errors of fact or judgement. Fanon does not rely on emotionalism or fiery words—indeed, his writing is almost conversational. And yet these books are overwhelmingly powerful in their effect. Few writings by revolutionaries anywhere equal Fanon in telling us of the raw realities of colonial domination, of the crushing poverty of the peasants and the jobless on the edges of the big colonial towns, of the dark thoughts which come to obsess oppressor and oppressed, and of the incomparable triumph of the moment when the entire people rises in unity to throw out the foreigner.

Fanon's doubt about the integrity of nationalist governments which come to power by peaceful means is, for Marxists and all African patriots, perhaps the most controversial aspect of his thought. It is explicable that one who learnt in the hard school of the Algerian Revolution should reject the notion of peaceful transition, as far as the imperialist-dominated developing countries are concerned. There are many who will disagree with him, and they may very well be right. But so far, there has been no under-developed country which has completely thrown off the shackles of imperialism by exclusively non-violent means. In fairness to Frantz Fanon, he has yet to be proved wrong. At the same time, there can be no doubt that in many African countries where a comparatively peaceful transition to independence took place, the people are making significant progress in consolidating their freedom and building economies strong and diverse enough to withstand imperialist financial manoeuvring.

One could go on almost indefinitely, analyzing Fanon's propositions, examining his theories on revolutionary violence, on national consciousness, on the importance of national culture. But perhaps all that is necessary is to summarize the points to which Fanon returns, again and again, urging Africans to take heed and act, lest the great African ideals of freedom, unity and progress turn into empty words:

It is necessary to exercise extreme vigilance, against both the imperialists and against reactionaries and traitors at home;

All the people, not just the most accessible, must be organized, and all important issues must be explained to them—for the right to govern is the people's trust;

Lastly, and most importantly, *no true or lasting progress is possible except by advancing steadily towards socialism, and completely abolishing the exploitation of man by man.*

If Africa's patriots resolutely follow that advice, there is little that can impede our continent's movement towards a bright, independent future.

A. LANGA.

Message from the South African Communist Party to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

DEAR COMRADES,

We send our warm fraternal greeting to your Congress.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will always hold a special place in the esteem and affection of working people, of fighters for socialism and national freedom, in all countries.

It was your Party, the Party of Lenin, which led the masses of working people to overthrow the rule of the capitalists and landlords in the Great October Socialist Revolution and to pioneer the historic forward march of mankind to the stage of socialism and communism. Marxist-Leninist leadership unleashed the creative labour and enthusiasm of the masses and enabled them to defeat internal reaction and foreign intervention; to transform once-backward Russia to the front rank of world powers; to meet and vanquish the fascist invasion and thus save the world from the horror of a return to the dark ages.

These historic achievements laid the basis for the advance to socialism in fourteen countries, comprising a third of the world's population, and for striking advances in the continuing struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Central and South America against imperialism, for national freedom and independence.

Your Congress is meeting at a time of a ruthless and dangerous counter-attack by the international forces of imperialism and reaction, against peace and against the peoples everywhere. The imperialists have launched a savage war of extermination against the people of South Vietnam and committed brazen acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They are instigating and backing reactionary internal forces in counter-revolutionary offensives and

military putsches in a number of African and Asian newly-independent countries. They seek to wipe out the gains of the Asian and African revolutions, to incite waves of anti-communist hysteria, and to re-establish in new forms colonial domination over the peoples who have won their independence. They threaten the world with the horrors of nuclear, gas and germ warfare.

The peoples are not submitting to these terroristic actions and threats. The heroic Vietnamese resistance is an inspiration to all freedom-loving people. In Angola, Mozambique and other countries, resolute patriots are carrying on an armed struggle for their national freedom. In all five continents fresh forces among the people are arising to struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

In the process of this vital struggle which is determining the course of history, the anti-imperialist forces have a fundamental identity of interests and purposes; it is vital that they should combine their resources and evolve common strategies and initiatives. Our Party has consistently upheld the cause of the unity of all progressive anti-imperialist forces, and in the first instance of their revolutionary vanguard, the Communists. Only the imperialist enemies benefit from division in our ranks; the first to suffer are peoples such as ours, the victims of colonialist and fascist aggression and oppression. Hence, in the opinion of the South African Communist Party, the time is long overdue for the convocation of a meeting of all Communist and working class Parties with a view to further consolidating the anti-imperialist forces for meeting the new offensives launched by the imperialists.

The South African people are engaged in a life and death struggle against a most vicious form of racist colonialism which is resorting to terrorist, fascist methods against the democratic liberation movement. In cities and towns, raids by armed battalions of the police on African locations—the ghettoes in which Africans are forced to live by the white man's laws—have become an almost daily occurrence. In these massive, military-type operations, hundreds of working people are arrested and flung into prisons, and the population subjected to indescribable brutalities.

Many opponents of apartheid from all racial groups, including progressive whites, are held in detention without trial in solitary confinement and subjected to barbarous forms of torture in attempts to force them to inform on their colleagues and comrades-in-arms. At this moment over 8,000 political prisoners are languishing behind prison bars serving sentences varying from three years to life imprisonment under the most savage conditions. At this very hour, one of the foremost leaders of the South African people and an eminent advocate,

Abram Fischer, is on trial on fifteen counts, including membership of the banned South African Communist Party and conspiracy to commit sabotage, which carries a possible death penalty. Judgement will be given on May 4th. From the dock Comrade Fischer gave a searing indictment of apartheid in South Africa and declared: 'My conscience does not permit me to obey laws which are wholly unrepresentative of three-quarters of the population.'

We consider it to be the duty of every progressive throughout the world to save this determined revolutionary who has devoted his whole life and energy to the cause of the liberation of South Africa from the hands of the fascist South African rulers. We therefore make an earnest appeal from the rostrum of this great Congress to all the progressive and democratic movements of the world to express their solidarity with Abram Fischer and the noble cause he stands for, and to demand his immediate release.

The South African fascist regime is a focus and stronghold of fascism and reaction in our continent and the world. It has illegally seized the mandated territory of South-West Africa; it is supporting the illegal Smith gang in Zimbabwe; it is a threat to the peace of Africa and the world. For these reasons it has rightly been made the object of international action designed to isolate it and to cut its lifelines with the imperialist countries which sustain it.

Our people deeply appreciate the consistent support of your Party for our struggle. Not only has the Soviet Union backed international action against apartheid; it has given valuable practical assistance to the fighting movement for national liberation. We know from our own experience that the C.P.S.U. is a sincere and reliable friend of the revolutionary movement against imperialism and colonialism.

We are confident that the delegates to your Congress will measure up to the great responsibility resting on them on this historic occasion. We are sure that, guided by the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, your Congress will hammer out correct policies to meet the great problems of our times; that it will inspire the Soviet people to fresh advances in advancing the socialist economy; in strengthening Soviet democracy; in advancing towards Communism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live Communism!

With brotherly Communist greetings,

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